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A

CONNECTION

OF

SACRED AND PROFANE HISTORY,

FROM

THE DEATH OF JOSHUA TO THE DECLINE OF THE KINGDOMS OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH.

(INTENDED TO COMPLETE THE WORKS OF SHUCKFORD AND PRIDEAUX.)

BY THE

REV. MICHAEL RUSSELL, L. L. D.,

EPISCOPAL MINISTER, LEITH.

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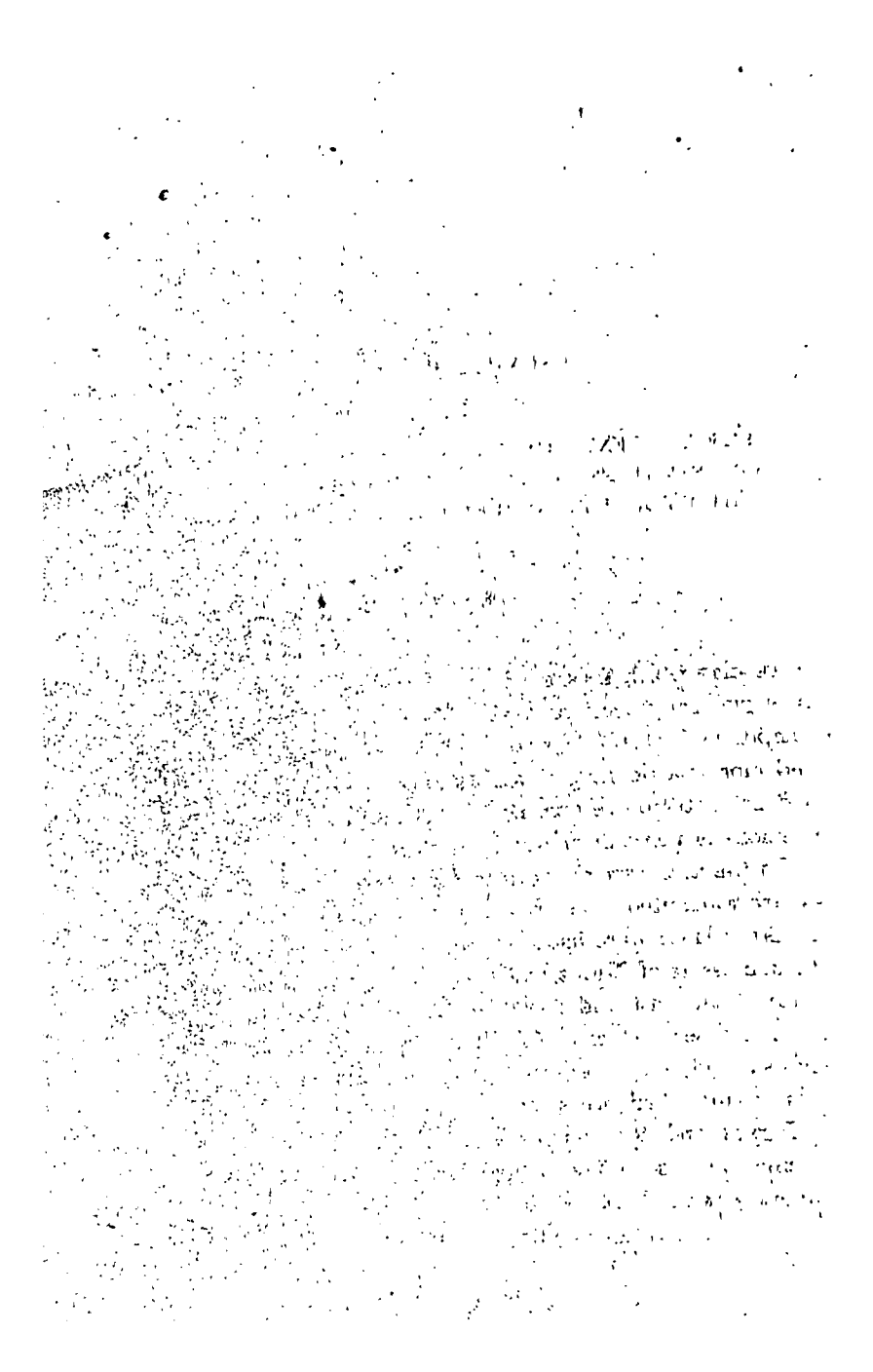
BOOK II.

ON THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE ORIENTAL NATIONS AS CONNECTED WITH THAT OF THE HEBREW PEOPLE IN THE TIMES OF THE JUDGES, NAMELY, FROM THE YEAR 1543 BEFORE THE BIRTH OF CHRIST TO 1099 BEFORE THE SAME ERA.



CHAPTER I.

ON THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS, AS CONNECTED WITH THAT OF THE HEBREWS, BETWEEN 1543 AND 1099 B. C.

THE plan which I have adopted requires that I should now give some account of those nations which were contemporary with the Hebrews in the times of the Judges; and more particularly of such kingdoms as at that period had any intercourse with the chosen people, either in the relations of peace or of war.

On the authority of history, both sacred and profane, we are warranted to assert that, even prior to the exode, the Assyrian empire had risen to considerable power; that the successors of Ninus had already extended their arms towards the east and south as far as the Persian gulf, and the deserts which divide Media from the banks of the Indus; and, moreover, that some of the more warlike of these princes had occasionally threatened the tranquillity of Egypt and the independence of Palestine. But the succinct and sometimes contradictory narratives of the ancient writers do not enable us to define with accuracy the limits of that government, or to ascertain the names

and succession of the monarchs by whom it was exercised. No question in the history of Asia has been less satisfactorily determined than that which respects the time when the Assyrians first laid the foundations of a regular policy, and the length of the period during which their ascendancy as a state continued to subsist. Some authors have even expressed great doubts whether the ancient empire of Assyria ever had an existence; and have accordingly viewed the several dynasties which are recorded by Ctesias, and Diodorus Siculus, as the fictions of oriental vanity, alike inconsistent with probability and with the more authentic annals of a later age. It may therefore be worth while to inquire, upon general grounds, into the authority of those lists of Babylonian and Assyrian kings which have been transmitted to our times in the works of historians and chronographers; and which, in the discussions which have been pursued by the learned in regard to this intricate subject, are usually associated with the names of Ctesias, Abydenus, Eusebius, Africanus, and Syncellus.

In the first place, we may be disposed to attribute to such catalogues as I have mentioned a greater degree of fidelity and exactness than we should otherwise ascribe to them, when we call to mind that the people of the East, and more especially the native tribes of Arabia and Syria, have always taken the greatest pains to preserve their genealogies, and to hand down an entire record of their principal families, their chiefs, their priests, and their judges. The first efforts of literature among the shepherds of Mesopotamia and Canaan, appear to have been directed to hardly any other object besides perpetuating the names and succession of their patriarchs; and the tablets which contained the genealogy of his tribe were regarded by the descendant of Abraham as the most valuable treasure that

could fall to him in right of inheritance. The same practice and the same feelings are universal in Arabia at the present day. The prince of a wandering horde, surrounded by his vassal kinsmen, his camels, and his sheep, is more proud of his pedigree than the sovereign of any European kingdom; and more solicitous also to preserve in full force the recollection and the evidence of his ancient lineage.

The catalogues which are inserted in the sacred writings afford at once an example and a proof of the care which was taken by the Hebrews, to preserve unbroken the long line of their ancestry. Nor was this usage confined to the sons of Jacob. On the contrary, it was found to prevail to an equal extent among the children of Esau, and, indeed, among all the classes and denominations of eastern people who continued to recognize a common descent, and whose rank and possessions could only be determined by an appeal to their genealogical tables.

For the reasons now mentioned, the lists which have come down to us of the Babylonian and Assyrian kings, are entitled to greater confidence than a hasty reader would be disposed to allow. It is indeed impossible to enter into particulars concerning the manner in which such documents were either constructed or preserved. Our ignorance of the time and the mode in which letters were first applied to meet the necessities of social life, prevents us from satisfying a very natural curiosity in regard to the materials, as well as the method, which were employed in keeping these ancient records. But that such catalogues were made and carefully retained among the tribes of the East, we are not allowed to doubt; and that they were, upon the whole, exact and faithful, every one will be ready to admit who duly considers their object, as well as the complete absence of all temptation to corrupt or to destroy.

Our confidence, too, in the general accuracy of these ancient lists may be perfectly entire, although we cannot extend a similar belief to the warlike exploits and other achievements which are, in some cases, too lavishly ascribed to the progenitors of the Asiatic monarchs. The actions of an ambitious chief might be very imperfectly recorded in the annals of his nation, though his name and the period of his government were inserted in the proper chronicle with the utmost exactness; and we know well that, in respect to the fame of a popular leader, who may have saved his followers from the hands of their enemies or extended their power over a neighbouring community, it requires not the aid of an oriental imagination to exaggerate a few plain facts to such a degree as even to outrage the spirit of fiction. To give a simple narrative of events, connected with the causes whence they arose and the circumstances which marked their accomplishment, demands means and talents of a very different order from those which are sufficient for constructing a family record, or even for delineating the more prominent features of a successful warrior; on which account we ought not hastily to reject the latter species of writings, although we should find in the former many things which are not only improbable, but positively extravagant and absurd.

The distinction now stated applies not only to the personal prowess and exertions of any individual monarch, but also to the extent of his dominions, the magnificence of his cities, and, above all, to the number and splendour of his troops. We may believe, for example, that Ninus reigned over the Assyrians at a very early period, and even that he was succeeded by his wife Semiramis; but we may be permitted at the same time to doubt whether he actually conducted his victorious armies from the borders of India to the river of Egypt, and

whether Nineveh in the days of his queen covered a space of ground sixty miles in circumference, and had walls on every side a hundred feet in height. It is enough, however, for our present purpose, to be reminded that the improbability of the latter statement ought not of itself to diminish the credibility which is due to the former. The admiration and fancy of posterity have added to the history of Ninus, and of his immediate successor, many things which cannot be believed; still, the reasonable scepticism which we are allowed to exercise in regard to their power, their conquests, and their personal qualities, will not by any candid reader be carried so far as to invalidate the authority of those ancient chronicles, which merely profess to establish the date and period of their government.

These remarks are suggested by the numerous attacks which have been made by literary men, in almost every age, on the character of Ctesias. This celebrated antiquary was a physician at the court of Artaxerxes Mnemon, about four hundred years before the Christian era; and being a great favourite with the Persian monarch, was allowed to make researches into the ancient history of the country, and to compile a catalogue of the Assyrian kings, from Ninus down to the epoch of the Median revolt. But Ctesias, besides an historical work on the Persian empire, composed a similar treatise on India; in which latter performance there were such palpable extravagancies, so many marvellous stories and improbable descriptions, as to have covered with suspicion the good sense and fidelity of the author in other respects, and to have assigned him a place in the list of fabulous writers. Aristotle condemned his natural history; Plutarch laughed at his biographical sketches; Strabo sneered at his geographical delineations; and later writers have indulged in invectives still more severe against his general veracity.

But, without entering into an analysis of the charges which have been brought forward by the enemies of the Greek physician, or specifying the grounds upon which a defence might be raised for the incredible statements of his Indian history, may we not have recourse to the distinction explained above, and maintain that, though an author might be induced to repeat foolish stories, and insert in his book absurd descriptions of monstrous animals which he had never seen, he might yet be fully competent to the task of copying from an ancient record a catalogue of names and a series of dates? Ctesias could have no inducement to extend beyond its proper limits the antiquity of the Assyrian empire. National vanity could not have any influence on the mind of a Greek, when tracing the vestiges of a power and a greatness which did not belong to his own people; for which reason, it appears to me that our conviction of his general accuracy should require no other support than the assurance that the archives, which he is said to have transcribed, did really exist, and that he understood the language in which they were composed.

The existence of such records, I repeat, is rendered extremely probable by the practice which is understood to have anciently prevailed in all Eastern countries; of which we find the most satisfactory proof in the sacred books of the Hebrews, and which continues among the simple tribes of Arabia at the present day. In reference to Ctesias, moreover, the most sceptical of his readers have never, so far as I know, accused him of fabricating the list of Assyrian princes which he submitted to the Greeks; and whatever ground there may be for complaint in regard to the liberties which later authors have taken with his catalogue, there does not appear to be any reason to suspect his truth or accuracy

in the first copy. But on this interesting subject some farther observations will be more suitably introduced when we come to examine the details of his work.

In the second place, there is no reason why the discrepancy which is sometimes observed in different editions of the same catalogue, whether in the names and dates, or in the actual number of the sovereigns who are described as having reigned during a certain period, should be pronounced an unquestionable proof of forgery or even of corruption. Nothing, I admit, is so likely to puzzle the understanding, and disturb the belief of a young chronologer, as to find in different authors the names of the same dynasty of kings written so variously, that all the efforts of etymological skill may be expended upon them, without discovering the slightest resemblance either in their orthography or import. But to the reader of Eastern history, this circumstance, which is apparently so inconsistent with accurate research, presents no particular difficulty.

He feels no astonishment, for example, when the monarch, whose steps he has followed in Scripture as Darius the Mede, appears in the page of a profane author under the name of Ardeshir, or is alluded to by another annalist as the victorious Bahaman. He knows that it has long been a custom in Asia for the reigning sovereign to give his son some important government, with the title of king; and that the latter generally changes his name when he succeeds to his father. The son and successor of Shapor the Second, in the fourth century, was called Kermanshah, and by European writers, Carmasat; but when he mounted the throne of Persia, he assumed the name of Baharam. Gengis Khan, in like manner, in the early part of his life, was called Temujin. Many of the Great Moguls, too, used, before their accession, names very different from those by which they were known when emperors of India.

The same practice was likewise adopted in Greece. Plato, it is said, was originally named Aristo. That it was also common among the Hebrews is amply proved by the books of Chronicles; where we find long lists of distinguished individuals, the heads of families, and even of tribes, whose names, when compared with the corresponding series in other parts of the Old Testament, present so slight a degree of resemblance as not to be recognized. Esther, the favourite wife of Ahasuerus, is known even to the mere English reader as Hadassah the niece of Mordecai the Jew; and the Persian scholar will be at no loss to renew his acquaintance with the same personage as Satira, the *star* or beauty of an oriental palace. Daniel, on the same principle, becomes Belteshazzar; while the three children, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, come forth, upon a change of circumstances, under the familiar denomination of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego. All nations, it has been observed, have had a greater or less partiality for metonymical and metaphorical allusions; and many persons have been described by some peculiar attribute or title, which, though it was perfectly well understood by their contemporaries, became in a few generations greatly obscured, and in certain cases altogether unintelligible.

We ought not therefore to call in question the authenticity of any catalogue which may happen to be found in an ancient writer, merely because the particular names of which it is composed do not exactly coincide with a corresponding list in some other work of a similar nature. A complete agreement in this respect is never looked for in oriental histories; not even when the several authors may have had access to the same sources of information; because, as almost every king had more than one appellation, it was obviously a matter of taste or convenience which of them any particular writer should adopt. In such a selection,

an historian or chronicler would allow himself to be determined by the usage of the province to which his work was to be addressed, and by the particular dialect of the national language which chanced to prevail in it, rather, perhaps, than by the literal expression of the record from which he drew his materials.

For example, a Jewish compiler, writing exclusively for his own country, would retain the original name of Daniel; whereas, if his memoirs were intended for a more general perusal, and were meant to be read upon the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris as well as on those of the Jordan, he would probably call him Belteshazzar. The niece of Mordecai, in like manner, would be spoken of among the Hebrews as the patriotic Hadassah; would be celebrated among the Greeks as the prudent Esther; and envied by the dames of Persia as the beautiful Satira.

Even in our own land, the history of a royal house might be modified so as to suit the recollections and prejudices of the people in either division of the island, and thereby be made to assume such a form as to perplex, in no small degree, an ignorant reader in a future age. The dynasty of Stuart would present, in a Scottish catalogue, a very different series of monarchs from that which an English historian would construct: and were the memorials of that unfortunate race to be collected by a bigotted Jacobite, we should perhaps find in them the names of James the Third, of Charles the Third, and of Henry the Ninth, the immediate descendants of the last member of the family who swayed the sceptre of this kingdom.

It is obvious, therefore, that the want of strict coincidence in the names of such Babylonian and Assyrian rulers, as are found in ancient catalogues, ought not to be regarded as a certain proof that the authors have been either ignorant or dishonest. On the contrary, in a case

where there were so many causes of variation, where accidental epithets and titles so frequently superseded or changed the original name, and where the same ruler was known to history under several designations, an entire correspondence in nomenclature, so far from removing all doubt, could hardly have failed to excite suspicion in regard to the independent authority of the more recent documents.

But it must not be concealed, in the third place, that part of the discrepancy of which the reader of ancient history has to complain, appears to have originated in a source altogether different from accumulation of titles or variety of spelling. There is reason to suspect that the difficulties of Asiatic chronology have induced certain writers, as well Pagans as Christians, to alter the catalogues which had passed into their hands, with the view of accommodating them to a system of dates which could not always boast of a stable foundation in fact. Even the learned bishop of Cæsarea, to whose labours we are so much indebted, cannot be thoroughly acquitted of this unjustifiable practice. Africanus is chargeable with the same freedoms; and, perhaps, from the days of Eusebius down to our own times, there is not one chronologer who has not either recommended or actually introduced very material changes in the names and dates of remote antiquity.

This acknowledgement may be thought by some sceptical readers to be tantamount to a complete withdrawal of all faith from ancient records. But it is not so; for though it must be confessed that the tampering of unskilful hands with the archives of Assyria and Egypt has increased the obscurity which they wished to remove, and diminished the confidence which it was their object to establish, there are yet to be found in those venerable relics themselves, such clear marks of truth and consistency as

will, in most cases, guide back the diligent inquirer to a distinct comprehension of their original import. The learned assiduity of the historian and chronographer has in many striking instances detected the very spot which was corrupted by the interpolation of his predecessors; and by removing the stain, he has not only restored to the perverted document its first pureness and integrity, but, by pointing out the source whence the confusion had arisen, he has also created a fuller confidence in the knowledge as well as in the veracity of the more ancient author.

If we can discover in Africanus, for example, an aberration from the statement of Ctesias respecting the order or number of the kings of Assyria, and have the means, at the same time, of accounting for the mistake of the former without any impeachment of his fidelity, we gain at once two very important objects. We not only prove that Ctesias was right in that particular instance, but being able to analyse the process of reasoning by which the later chronologist introduced into his catalogue the erroneous innovation, we attain a more perfect assurance as to the credibility of both; and, in short, perceive the truth in a brighter light arising from the very collision of their opinions. Hence I conclude, that we are not hastily to pronounce against the truth of ancient writers on the simple ground of their occasional differences; for when the points in which they happen to vary are once reconciled on the basis of sound learning and criticism, the authority of history, so far from being shaken or impaired, receives a stronger confirmation.

These observations appeared necessary to prepare the mind of the reader for the discussion to which we are now about to proceed relative to the commencement and duration of the Babylonian and Assyrian empires; subjects on

which there has been a great diversity of opinion among chronologers, both ancient and modern, and on the elucidation of which much erudition, research, and ingenuity have been employed by divines and philosophers.

As Dr Shuckford has given an abridged view of the origin and early fortunes of the Assyrian monarchy, I should not have resumed the consideration of a subject so extremely obscure, were not the chronological grounds on which he proceeded utterly inconsistent with the more comprehensive scheme adopted in these volumes, as well as with the conclusions of all ancient history, sacred and profane. Following the steps of the Masoretic Jews, he dates the commencement of that empire a hundred and one years after the Flood; a period at which, we have the best reason to believe, there could not be on the face of the whole earth a sufficient number of inhabitants to found cities and kingdoms such as those mentioned in the book of Genesis, and to accomplish the other plans which are attributed to the adherents of Nimrod.

If we confine our speculations to the statements of the Holy Scripture, we must admit, that, at the end of the first century, the descendants of Noah could not have multiplied to any great extent. Even on the basis of the Hebrew genealogy, we cannot, in that interval, establish more than three generations; for Arphaxad lived five and thirty years before he begat Salah; and Salah lived thirty years and begat Eber; and Eber lived four and thirty years and begat Peleg.* The renovated race of mankind, be it remembered, too, proceeded from the three sons of Noah only; there being no mention made of any children born to that patriarch himself after the epoch of the Deluge.

* Genesis xi. 12. 14. 16.

Were we to assume, then, the largest number that the laws of nature and of probability will warrant as the issue of the three families in the course of a hundred years, we shall find it much too small to be consistent with the great objects which appear to have been contemplated by those aspiring individuals who founded the Babylonian monarchy.

In the first generation which proceeded from Noah's household, we count only sixteen sons, namely, seven in the family of Japheth; four in that of Ham; and five as the progeny of Shem. Suppose there was an equal number of daughters, and that all the cousins in the three families intermarried with one another, and we shall then have sixteen couples, upon whose prolific qualities we are to rely for the amount of the second generation. But let us take along with us, *that at least ten years after the Flood must have passed away before sixteen sons and sixteen daughters could have been born in the houses of Shem, Ham, and Japheth*; and moreover that, as thirty-five appears to have been the usual age for marriage, the first generation could not begin to have children till about the fortieth year of the new era, on the average of all the families. Let us farther suppose that all the grandchildren of Noah were as fruitful as their parents had been, and that every couple produced five sons and five daughters; the result will be sixteen multiplied by ten, or one hundred and sixty human beings in the second generation. These were, of course, the contemporaries of Salah the son of Arphaxad, the son of Shem.

The next descent, or that to which Eber belonged, would, on the principles of this hypothesis, be increased five fold; for as a hundred and sixty individuals constitute eighty couples, and as every couple is supposed to

procreate ten children, the product of eighty multiplied by ten is eight hundred; the amount of the third generation born in the new world. The succeeding generation, or that in which Peleg flourished, cannot be included in the first century after the Flood; for Eber, the father of the patriarch just named, and who in this particular may be taken as the representative of his age, did not marry till the beginning of the second century.* The number of mankind, therefore, at the time when, according to the Masorite chronology, the Babylonian monarchy was founded, would be as follows:—

The family of Noah saved in the ark,	8
The first generation, or that of Arphaxad,	32
The second generation, or that of Salah,	160
The third generation, or that of Eber,	800
	1000

That I have not withdrawn from this hypothetical calculation any element which could be properly used for augmenting the number of Noah's descendants in the first century, will be seen by any reader who shall take the pains to examine with attention the tenth and eleventh chapters of Genesis. It will there be found that, instead of eighty males whom I have allowed for the second generation, the great-grandsons of Noah, such at least as are mentioned in Scripture, did not in fact exceed thirty-six.

* Shem was an hundred years old, and begat Arphaxad two years after the Flood. To these add the 35 years of Arphaxad, the 30 years of Salah, and the 34 years of Eber, the sum will be 101; the period at which the fourth generation may be computed to have commenced. Genesis xi. 10—17.

In the house of Japheth there is a record of -	7
——— of Ham ——— -	24
——— of Shem ——— -	5
	36*

Nor has any deduction been made for accidental or violent deaths. Every individual born in the course of the hundred years is not only supposed to have lived throughout the second and third generations, but also to have married and become the parent of ten vigorous children; and yet the aggregate amount of the human race at the termination of the first century is bounded by the limits of one thousand, consisting of both sexes and of all ages. In such circumstances, the number of men fit for labour, for the toils of the chase, and the fatigue of war, would hardly reach the moderate sum of three hundred. It is, therefore, extremely improbable that cities and empires were founded at so early a period; or that the history of any nation can be traced back through any records or monuments now existing to an epoch so near the universal deluge.

But I must not omit to observe, that other calculations have been made, respecting the numbers of mankind in the

* The sons of Gomer were Ashkenaz, and Riphath, and Togarmah. And the sons of Javan were Elishah, and Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim; in all seven of the Japhethites.

The sons of Cush were Seba, and Havilah, and Sabtah, and Raamah, and Sabtecha, and Nimrod. The sons of Mizraim were Ludim, and Anamim, and Lehabim, and Naphtuhim, and Pathrusim, and Casluhim, and Caphtorim. The sons of Canaan were Sidon, and Heth, and the Jebusite, and the Amorite, and the Girgasite, and the Hivite, and the Arkite, and the Sinite, and the Arvadite, and the Zemarite, and the Hamathite; in all twenty-four Hamites.

The children of Aram were Uz, and Hul, and Gether, and Mash. The only son of Arphaxad was Salah: in all five Shemites. See Genesis x. 2—24.

days of Noah, which give a result not a little at variance with that to which the above reasoning has conducted us. Dr Richard Cumberland, a well-known bishop of Peterborough, wrote, somewhat more than a hundred years ago, an amusing tract on this subject; in which he undertook to prove that about the time when Peleg the son of Eber died, there were or might have been in the world upwards of three thousand millions of married men; or as he himself expresses it, "3,333,333,330 males furnished with wives." When this number is doubled, so as to include the women, we shall have 6,666,666,660 persons, all in the state of matrimony: to which if we add the very low estimate of two children to a family, the population of the globe in the latter years of Noah would exceed considerably the magnificent amount of thirteen thousand millions; that is about twelve thousand millions of human beings more than ever were supposed to be alive upon it at one time.*

The bishop rests his hypothesis on four simple postu-

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* The following table will present to the reader a general view of the progress of population in the Noachic ages, according to Bishop Cumberland.

A.M.	Years after Flood.	Couples born in the first *Vicennium* after the Flood, and the couples born that descended from them.	
1676	20	30	
1716	60	300	
1756	100	3,000	Observations Celest. sent by Callisthenes, begun.
1796	140	30,000	Hereabouts Babel's Tower is attempted to be built.
1836	180	300,000	Hereabouts Egypt and Phœnicia planted by Canaan and Mizraim.
1876	220	3,000,000	
1916	260	30,000,000	About this time Ægialeus founds the Sicyonian kingdom.
1956	300	300,000,000	Joctan, Phaleg's brother, founds a kingdom in Arabia.
1996	340	3,000,000,000	
	The sum	3,333,333,330	Males furnished with wives.

lates; that the brethren of Shem were of like constitution with himself, and in the course of nature might live much about as many years as he did—that the descendants of Ham and Japheth were as strong, long-lived, and fruitful as the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of Shem—that the male issue of these three brothers began to generate other issue soon after they were twenty years old—and lastly, that the issue produced was half males and half females.

"From these postulates or reasonable suppositions it will follow," says the learned prelate, "that in the first twenty years after the Flood, the three sons of Noah might beget each of them twenty children, the sum of which is sixty; the one half of these is thirty males, and the other thirty yields a wife for each one of them. Hence it follows, that at the sixtieth year after the Flood, the youngest of these children, whether male or female, will be forty years old, and may have generated twenty children more, the sum will be 600, whereof 300 will be males, the other 300 wives for them."*

Assuming the accuracy of his postulates, the bishop goes on to make his Noachides increase their numbers tenfold every forty years; taking credit to himself in the mean time for the moderation of his views, and particularly for not availing his hypothesis of a capability which women are said to possess of having a child regularly once in ten months. "We reckon of no births," says he, "within less time than a full year; although we know that seven children may be born in every six years, allowing only single births.† We do not," he adds, "violently lay hands on all possible methods of multiplying men,

* Origines Gentium Antiquissimæ, p. 146, &c. † Page 149.

but have left out very many ways whereby we might have increased our numbers."*

The reader will hardly allow that his lordship is entitled to much praise for his reserve and abstinence, when it is stated that all the women in the world, for 340 years after the Flood, are charged by him, without any warrant from sacred history, with the laborious duty of bringing forth twenty children. Every couple was bound to begin to generate at the age of twenty, and to add to the stock of population ten boys and as many girls; and as, according to his hypothesis, neither male nor female was supposed to die during a period of nearly five hundred years, we cannot admit that the bishop has left out many ways whereby he might have increased his numbers.†

When an argument terminates in positive absurdity, it is hardly worth while to examine the process of reasoning by which the conclusion was attained. But the most careless reader must be struck with the fact, that Dr Cumber-

* Origines Gentium Antiquissimæ, p. 164.

† On this subject Pezron observes, "Premierement, il faut que ceux qui s'attachent a l'Hebreu des Juifs, traitent des fables toutes les anciennes histoires des nations de l'Asie; celles des Chaldeens, celles des Egyptiens, et celles des Chinois. Ils sont meme contraints d'abreger l'empire des Assyriens, &c.

Secondement, ils sont obligés de mettre la construction de la tour de Babel soixante ou quatre-vingts ans apres le deluge; et de mettre aussi la dispersion des hommes par toute la terre cent ans depuis cette inondation generale; ce qui est incroyable, quand on examine serieusement les choses. Car enfin l'esprit ne comprend pas qu'en moins d'un siecle, ou plutot du un demi-siecle, les trois enfans de Noe, a sçavoir, Sem, Ham, et Japhet, ayant pu engendrer ce prodigieux nombre d'hommes qui ont travaillé a bâtir la ville et la tour de Babel, et qui ensuite ont eté dispersés par toute la terre.

Je ne suis plus surpris apres cela, si les Rabbins, mais les anciens Rabbins, reportés dans le *Pirke Eliezer*, disent que les trois fils de Noe ont engendré comme des reptiles. R. Elihai ait *genecrarunt illi tres filios suos, fœtificaverunt et multiplicati sunt tanquam genus quoddam majoris reptilis, sex quolibet partu*; cela veut dire que leurs femmes ayoient six enfans a chaque fois ou a chaque ventrée.—*Pezron, Defense de l'Antiquité des Tems*, pages 546, 547.

land has founded his third postulate in utter neglect of the sacred narrative; which, so far from representing the sons of Noah as becoming the fathers of sixty children, states, in the most unambiguous language, that their male progeny in the first descent amounted only to sixteen; and gives so little authority for asserting that these young men in their turn married at twenty, that, in the only case where an age is mentioned, the inspired writer takes the pains to inform us that the individual in question, a grandson of the great patriarch, did not find himself a parent until he was thirty-five. There is assuredly no room for doubt that Shem, Ham, and Japheth, had daughters as well as sons, and probably an equal number of each; but that they had thirty children of either sex, and that these became heads of families at the early age of twenty, and thereby afforded an example which was regularly followed by their descendants during several hundred years, is a position which cannot be maintained without impeaching the fidelity of the sacred volume.

In admitting that the three generations proceeding from the three sons of Noah might at the end of a hundred years amount to a thousand individuals, I have, for the sake of argument, allowed the correctness of the genealogical tables which are exhibited in the modern copies of the Hebrew Bible. But no one who has paid any attention to chronology in the present day, aided by the discoveries which the learning of the two last centuries has supplied, hesitates to acknowledge that the dates in the Masoretic text, for the period between the Flood and the birth of Abraham, have been altered and depraved. Not only do the Septuagint, the Samaritan version, and the Antiquities of Josephus, bear evidence to the fact now alleged, but even the common experience of mankind and the laws of human nature confirm the suspicion which

has so long been directed against the fidelity of the Rabbins, in the article of chronology. The marked disproportion between the *generations* of the postdiluvian patriarchs, and the total length of their lives, betrays the vitiating industry of the school of Akiba; for thirty-five, the age at which Arphaxad, Salah, and Eber, are described as begetting children, bears about the same ratio to four hundred and forty, the age at which they died, that six bears to seventy-five. Now, to assert that a race of human beings whose life, generally speaking, did not extend beyond seventy-five years, should become fathers and mothers at six, would surely be deemed equally unnatural and incredible; and yet to maintain that Eber, who lived till he was four hundred and sixty-four, was a father at four and thirty, is not less inconsistent with the usual course of nature. The term of procreation, in his case, bore the same relation to the term of his whole life, that the age of a child at five bears to the age of a man who dies at seventy-five.*

When, on the other hand, we adopt the notation of the

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* These remarks apply with increased force to the hypothesis of Bishop Cumberland; for on his system the age of procreation, compared to the total length of life, is in the proportion of three and a small fraction to seventy-five; consequently we ought not to be more surprised when we hear of a child becoming a parent at three years and four months, than when we are assured by Jewish chronologers that Eber, who lived to the age of 464, was the father of Peleg at four and thirty. The bishop appears to have been aware of this objection to which his reasoning is exposed, but his answer is far from being satisfactory.

"I postulate," says he, "that the male issue of the three brothers (Shem, Ham, and Japheth,) might begin to generate other issue soon after they were twenty years old. This every year's experience proves not to be an unreasonable demand. Therefore I cannot allow Isaac Vossius's postulate, that these patriarchs might be longer before they came to puberty than men now are; and he hath given no proof of what he supposes."

It was not easy in such a case to give proof positively unquestionable; but surely the analogy of nature, and the testimony of Josephus, with that of the Greek and Samaritan versions, ought to have some weight in determining this chronological problem.

Samaritan Pentateuch, of Josephus, or of the Seventy, all inconsistencies disappear; for a hundred and thirty-five, as the age of marriage, bears the same proportion to four hundred and forty, the term of life, that twenty-five bears to seventy-five, in the present day; and this agreement, without doubt, ought of itself to be considered as a strong presumption in favour of the more lengthened genealogy. For these cogent reasons, as well as for others which have been stated at some length in the Preliminary Dissertation, every author in modern times, with whose writings I am acquainted, rejects, without the slightest hesitation, the postdiluvian numbers of the Masoretic Hebrew text.* Mr Faber, speaking of the chronology of the Samaritan Pentateuch, remarks, "I cannot but believe that this invaluable system has been preserved to us by the special good providence of God, in order that the cavils of infidelity may be effectually put to silence. I have examined it with all the severity of attention which I can command, and, from beginning to end, I have been utterly unable to discover the least flaw. We have here no statements contradictory to the historical narrative; we have here none of those perplexing difficulties which meet us at each step in the Hebrew chronology. Every thing is throughout clear and consistent; insomuch that no better evidence can be afforded us of the accuracy with which Moses details the early postdiluvian events than the excellent table of descents exhibited to us in the Samaritan Pentateuch. Shem is represented as dying nearly a century and a half before the death of Peleg, and little less than four centuries and a half before the death of Abraham; while Abraham, in exact accordance with the history, dies pre-

* See Preliminary Dissertation, vol. i. p. 97—102.

cisely 100 years after his father Terah. Consequently, since the dispersion from Babel must have taken place towards the latter end of Peleg's life, in order that we may allow time for the thirteen sons of his younger brother Joktan to have become heads of families, both Noah and Shem will have died, as we proved they *must* have died, *prior* to the emigration from Armenia; and thus all the strange difficulties with which we are hampered by the Hebrew chronology, will be entirely avoided. We shall have no occasion to wonder how Nimrod could acquire such a marvellous degree of authority, while he himself was a mere boy, and while the four royal patriarchs were yet living. We shall have no need to puzzle ourselves with computing how a multitude sufficiently large to build the tower and to found the Cuthic empire of Babel, could have been produced from three pairs within the very short time allowed for that purpose by the Hebrew Pentateuch. We shall be under no obligation to account for the total silence respecting Shem which pervades the entire history of Abraham: that patriarch is not mentioned for the very best of all possible reasons; instead of surviving Abraham 35 years, he had died in Armenia no less than 440 years before Abraham was born.

"Nor is this the only service rendered by the Samaritan chronology: it makes sacred history perfectly accord with profane, while the Hebrew chronology sets them at complete variance with each other. The Babylonic history of Berosus, and the old records consulted by Epiphanius, equally place the death of Noah and his sons *before* the emigration from Armenia; and the worship of them as astronomical hero-gods, which even at the latest must have commenced *previous* to the dispersion, necessarily supposes their *antecedent* decease. With this the Samaritan chronology exactly agrees; for it makes Shem

die 138 years before the departure of Peleg, and thus allows an ample space of time for the subsequent emigration and dispersion; while the Hebrew chronology throws every thing into inextricable confusion, by placing the death of Noah ten years, and the death of Shem 162 years, after the death of Peleg."*

Sir William Drummond, in his late work on the origin of Eastern Nations, expresses a similar opinion respecting the vitiated condition of the modern Hebrew chronology, and gives, in like manner, a decided preference to the postdiluvian genealogies of the Greek and Samaritan versions.

"These variations from the Hebrew text as we have it now, and as Jerome must have read it in his time, have," he observes, "considerably perplexed chronographers; but there is a partial solution of the difficulty recommended by the learned Jesuits Du Halde and Tournemine, which I do not scruple to adopt. It is stated at Genesis, chapter xi. verse 10, in the figurative phraseology of an oriental style, that Shem was בן מאת שנה, *son of a hundred years*, when he begot Arphaxad. Now, at verse 12, where it is said Arphaxad lived five and thirty years and begot Salah, the words *son of a hundred years* are to be understood after Arphaxad, and so of all the other descendants of Shem, in the time of Eber, down to Terah, who begot Abraham about his 70th year. According to this reading, which I have not the least doubt is the accurate one, we must reckon the period between the deluge and the call of Abraham at 1067 years. It is quite clear that Josephus thus read and understood the Hebrew text, for he has everywhere supplied the 100 years, as is proposed

* Origin of Pagan Idolatry, vol. iii. p. 422, 423. The reference in volume first, p. 102, is wrong, and the quotation misapplied: Mr Faber having in view the Septuagint version, while my application of his remark is to the Hebrew text.

above, from Shem to Terah. It also appears that the Seventy, and the author of the Samaritan text, found or supplied the words which I have mentioned above, in every example (except in that of Nahor) from Shem to Terah. The Seventy, indeed, have introduced the name of the second Cainan, which has been erroneously omitted in the Hebrew and Samaritan texts, but which is received in the genealogy given by St Luke.

"The state of society in the time of Abraham argues its long previous existence. Powerful kingdoms were already established; great cities had been built; and regular armies were maintained. Mankind already witnessed the pomp of courts, and the luxury of individuals. Pharaoh appeared surrounded with his princes; Abimelech came attended with the captain of his host; and Abraham himself was rich in gold and silver, in tents, in flocks, and in herds. Money, and even coined money, was in use; nor let it be forgotten, that slavery was already introduced. These circumstances, with many others which might be enumerated, make it difficult to conceive that, only between four and five centuries before, the whole human race had been destroyed with the exception of eight persons. I therefore propose to my readers to adopt as they think fit, the calculation, as it results either from the Samaritan text, or from that of the Septuagint, or from the Hebrew text itself, as it evidently must have been read and understood by Josephus, who, next to Philo, was the most learned of the Jews, and who, in this instance at least, could have had no interest either in altering the sense, or in disguising the truth."*

* See Origines, or Remarks on the Origin of several Empires, States, and Cities. By the Right Hon. Sir William Drummond. 1824. Vol. i. p. 101—103.

If, then, according to the recommendation of these learned authors, we adopt the chronology of the Samaritan Pentateuch, of Josephus, or of the Septuagint translation, we must of necessity admit a conclusion which is perfectly irreconcilable with the opinion of Dr Shuckford, and of all the other writers who maintain that the Babylonian monarchy was founded about a century after the Flood. Even on the supposition that three generations were produced within the first hundred years, I have shewn how probable it is that the aggregate number of human beings, of all ages and of both sexes, did not exceed a thousand; and, consequently, the total absence of authority for those chronological systems which carry back the origin of the great Asiatic monarchies, as well as of the splendid cities of Babylon and Nineveh, to the early period which has just been mentioned.

But the improbability of such hypotheses will appear in a still stronger light when we consider, that instead of three generations evolving themselves during the first century, there could not be more than one; for if all the grandsons of Noah followed the rule which was observed by Arphaxad, who did not beget a son till he was 135 years of age, it is evident that the second postdiluvian generation would not materially add to the strength of the first until towards the middle of the succeeding hundred years. Proceeding, therefore, on this new ground, we should not be disposed to look for any large political establishment, any regular monarchy, or capital city, till after the lapse of five or six centuries from the epoch of the deluge; and it will be found, I believe, upon a comparison of the most authentic records that are preserved in the ancient annals of the human race, that the first kingdom in Asia did not originate before the period which has now been specified.

But, before we enter upon the more regular chronolo-

gical inquiry which respects the commencement of the Babylonian and Assyrian empires, it seems expedient to make a few observations on the preliminary question as to whether these early governments were originally separate or united; if they were separate, how long they continued so; and what were the circumstances which led to their junction, and the consequent ascendancy of the Assyrian name among the people of the East.

The sacred historian, in the brief parenthetical account which he gives of Nimrod, the descendant of Cush, relates that the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar. In the same incidental manner, he immediately subjoins, out of that land went forth Ashur, and builded Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen between Nineveh and Calah.*

All that we discover here is a reference to two events, connected, first, with the establishment of a regal power at Babel; and, secondly, with the foundation of Nineveh and some other great cities apparently in political subjection to it. The inspired author appears not to have had the smallest intention to fix the dates of these important occurrences, nor even to supply to his reader such information as might enable him to determine the extent of the interval which had elapsed between them. He confines himself to the simple statement that an ambitious individual, whom he describes as belonging to the line of Cush, formed a civil polity at Babel; and that, at some future period, a person called Ashur, or the Assyrian, migrated from the district in which Nimrod first exercised authority, and laid the foundations of a separate government on the banks of the Tigris.

* Genesis x. 10, 11, 12.

It is true, that, from the mere contiguity and apparent connection of the two portions of this narrative, some writers have concluded, not only that Nineveh was founded in the time of Nimrod, but even that Nimrod and Ashur were only two names for the same individual: and consequently that the metropolis of Assyria was indebted for its origin to the same aspiring hand which gave a beginning to the magnificent city of Babylon. There is hardly any reader who requires to be informed, that Bochart, Junius, Hyde, and other biblical critics have expressed their preference for that translation of the original text, which, instead of describing a man named *Ashur* as going forth from the vicinity of the Euphrates, represents Nimrod himself as leaving his own country and proceeding into *Assyria* to lay the foundations of a new city and colony. But the Hebrew terms used by the divine historian do not properly admit of such a rendering; and hence most modern authors who assert the identity of Nimrod and of the first Assyrian ruler, find it necessary to assume a different ground for their opinion, as will be hereafter explained at considerable length. Our object at present, however, is merely to examine into the authorities furnished by antiquity in regard to the separate origin and independent existence of their two empires; and to ascertain, if possible, how long the one preceded the other in strict chronological order.*

The principal authorities whose lights we must follow in this investigation are Alexander Polyhistor and Africanus,

* The Hebrew text will not bear the interpretation put upon it by Bochart, Junius, and Hyde. It should, according to their sense of it, have been, not אשור, *Ashur*, but אשורה or לאשור, Assura or Le Assur. It is worthy of notice, too, that, in this particular, the Greek, Syriac, Latin, and Arabic versions, and the Samaritan Pentateuch, all agree with the Hebrew. Josephus takes the same view; stating distinctly that Ashur built the city of Nineveh, and that the Assyrians derived their name from him.—*Jackson, Chron. Antiq.*, vol. i. p. 230, and *Josephus, Jewish Antiquities*, book i. chap. 6.

who appear to have copied from more ancient authors the result of inquiries, the date of which is lost in the darkness of a very remote antiquity. These two chronographers agree in respect to the number of kings who succeeded Nimrod at Babylon, though they differ somewhat as to the length of time which was occupied by their successive reigns. I proceed, meantime, to extract from the valuable Chronographia of Syncellus the catalogue which he has preserved of the Chaldean kings, who began to govern in the sixth century after the deluge.

The first and most celebrated was Euechoüs, who is also called Nembrod, who governed in Babylon six years.

The second king of the Chaldeans was Chomasbolus, who reigned seven years and a half, beginning in the year of the world 2782.

The third king of the Chaldeans was Porus, who reigned 35 years, beginning in the year of the world 2790.

The fourth king of the Chaldeans was Nechubes, who reigned 43 years, beginning in the year of the world 2825.

The fifth king of the Chaldeans was Abius, who reigned 48 years, beginning in the year of the world 2868.

The sixth king of the Chaldeans was Oniballus, who reigned 40 years, beginning in the year of the world 2916.

The seventh king of the Chaldeans was Zinzirus, who reigned 45 years, beginning in the year of the world 2956.

The above is a literal translation from the work of Syncellus, who adds, in a note or commentary, that the empire of the Chaldeans sprang up 225 years after the dispersion of the nations, beginning in the year of the world 2776, and ending in the 3000th year of the same era. In the 3001st year of the Chaldean monarchy the Arabians seized the government; which was held by six kings of that

nation 215 years, that is, until the year of the world 3215.*

Alexander Polyhistor assigns to the first dynasty of Chaldean monarchs a period only of 190 years; differing from Africanus, or perhaps only from Syncellus, who may have taken the liberty to make this alteration, not less than 35 years. The chronographer, indeed, is honest enough to inform us, at page 78 of his laborious compilation, that Polyhistor, on the authority of Berosus, computed the duration of the first series of Babylonian kings at 190 solar years; and also that, on a similar ground, he had assured his readers that the epithet Euechoüs was applied to Chosma-belus and not to Nimrod. But the main point at the present stage of our inquiry, I repeat, is to establish the fact that there was at Babylon a succession of sovereigns before Ninus began to rule in Nineveh over the provinces of Assyria.

Syncellus observes, in the note which has just been quoted from him, that the successors of Nimrod were removed from the throne by a dynasty of Arabians, who held it during a period of 215 years. The names of these invaders are preserved by the same author in the following order:

The first was Mardocentes, who reigned 45 years, beginning in the year of the world 3001.

The second is omitted in this catalogue; his name and duration of his government having been lost.

The third was Sisimardacus, who reigned 28 years, beginning in the year of the world 3086.

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* Ἑως του σ κ ε'. διηρκεσεν ἡ μετα την διασποραν των ζ'. Χαλδαιων βασιλεια, ἀρχει ἀπο του β σ ο ς'. κοσμικου ἐτους, ἑως του γ' κοσμικου, ἀπο δε του γ α'. κοσμικου ἐ τους διελεξαντο την Χαλδαιων βασιλειαν Αραβες ἐπι ἐτη σ ι ε'. βασιλεις ς'. ἑως του γ α ι ν'. κοσμικου ἐ τους.—*Syncelli Chronog.* p. 90.

The fourth was Nabius, who reigned 37 years, beginning in the year of the world 3114.

The fifth was Parannus, who reigned forty years, beginning in the year of the world 3151.

The sixth was Nabonnebus, who reigned 25 years, beginning in the year of the world 3191.*

The sum of these reigns is 175; hence we find, that the second king whose name has disappeared must have exercised the government 40 years; the total duration of the Arabian dynasty being limited to 215.

I have copied the above list with the utmost regard to accuracy, specifying in every instance the year of the world in which the several reigns were supposed to begin; although from a slight chronological deviation which Syncellus has pursued, his era of the Flood is fourteen years short of the truth. Instead of 2256, the proper year of the deluge, Syncellus follows an authority which places it in the year 2242; on which account, the reader who wishes to reduce the dates which I have transcribed to the more precise calculation of the Septuagint and of Josephus, will find it necessary to add 14 to the number assigned by the author of the Chronographia.

The amount of the dynasties just mentioned, the seat of whose power appears to have been at Babylon, is

According to Syncellus -	225+215=440
And according to Alex. Polyhistor	190+215=405

If the former, or Chaldean dynasty, began in the year of the world 2790, or 534 years after the Flood, the latter, or Arabian, must have terminated in 3230

* Syncelli Chronographia, p. 92.

or 3195, according as we shall adopt the numbers of Syncellus or of Polyhistor; the difference, as I have already remarked, being not less than 35 years. Jackson prefers the smaller number; having satisfied himself that Alexander must have copied it from Berosus, who, in regard to the affairs of Babylon, is esteemed by him a higher authority than Africanus or any other more modern chronographer.*

During those four hundred years, in the course of which the strength and magnificence of the Babylonian monarchy must have grown to a considerable height, no mention is made by any one writer, sacred or profane, of the Assyrian kingdom or colony which was founded by Ashur at Nineveh, Rehoboth, and Calah. But there is every reason to believe that the sources of its prosperity were neither less ample nor less constant than those which contributed to augment the parent state; for we find that the third dynasty in the latter was in due time succeeded by a chief who probably belonged to a Shemitic tribe, and who at all events has associated his name, in eastern annals, with the first rise of that ascendancy which the Assyrians so long maintained among the nations of Asia.

The imperfect records of those early times do not afford the means of arriving at any satisfactory conclusion respecting the lineage of the monarch whose name stands at the head of the third dynasty of Chaldean kings. Nor is any light supplied by the title or epithet Belus, by which he was known to historical writers; for as this term denotes nothing more than that he exercised the sovereignty of his tribe, it fails to distinguish him from various other rulers whose station or exploits drew from the admiration of their countrymen a similar token of

* Chronological Antiquities, vol. i. p. 235.

respect. But, without engaging in useless inquiries on a subject where research has no materials on which to found even a conjecture, I proceed at once to give a list of the third dynasty of Babylonian monarchs, according to the best authorities that the wasting hand of antiquity has allowed to remain.

Belus (supposed to be of the line of Ham) reigned	55 years
Babius, his son, reigned	37
Anebis, his son, reigned	38
Chæalus, his son, reigned	45
Arbelus, his son, reigned	42
The sum of reigns	217

The author from whose works this catalogue is extracted, is the celebrated Moses of Chorene; who, in his Armenian History, has preserved a valuable fragment copied from Abydenus, an industrious compiler of Chaldean records.* Africanus had a similar list, for which, it is probable, he was indebted to the same collector; but this chronologist, not being aware that a third dynasty of kings had reigned at Babylon prior to the age of Ninus, has introduced the above names into the Assyrian catalogue at a comparatively later period; and this, as will be explained hereafter, has unduly increased the number of Assyrian princes, and consequently extended the duration of their government a century beyond the proper limits.

I must not omit to mention that Abydenus had in his roll a sixth king, whose name was Ninus; but as it is al-

* Hist. Armen. lib. i. c. 4.

most certain that this addition originated in a mistake, and that the name of the sovereign who is thereby made to close the last Babylonian dynasty, belonged, in fact, to the first of the Assyrian, I have followed Dr Jackson in rejecting it.* Much confusion has arisen from an historical notice, which appears to have soon become a subject of tradition, that Ninus was the son of a certain Belus; and in the case before us, it may be presumed, the author or copier of the list in Abydenus was induced, upon the mere identity of the name, to establish the relation of paternity between the fifth sovereign of the third lineage, and the renowned conqueror of Nimrod's kingdom, the Ninus of Ctesias and of Diodorus Siculus.

This catalogue of the Babylonian kings from Belus to Ninus, as preserved by Moses Chorenensis, derives some confirmation from a similar list of Armenian sovereigns supposed to be contemporary; at the top of which we find Haic, who is said to have ascended the throne at the same time with the first of the two princes just named, and who, moreover, is described as having slain him in the field of battle. Aram was the Armenian ruler who governed in the days of Ninus; and the names of his successors, from Haic down to the dissolution of the Assyrian empire under Sardanapalus, are regularly recorded; and frequently, too, in connection with the contemporaneous sovereigns who held their state at Nineveh. Nor is this important document confined to the pages of Moses as borrowed from Abydenus. It was likewise to be found in an Armenian history by Maribas of Catina, who copied it from ancient records which, in his time, were still carefully kept in the capital of Assyria.†

* Chron. Antiq. vol. i. p. 262.

† About the year 130 before the Christian era, Maribas was sent by Valarsaces, king of Armenia, to his brother Arsaces, the second king of Parthia,

Assuming, at this stage of our narrative, the authenticity of the record quoted from Maribas and Abydenus, and preserved by the historian of Chorene, we have three dynasties of kings who reigned at Babylon, before the conquest of the Chaldean territory by Ninus, from whose reign the Assyrian monarchy properly begins.

The first dynasty commenced with Nimrod, and continued - - -	225 years
The second, or Arabian, began with Mardocentes, and continued - - -	215
The third began with Belus, and continued	217
The sum of the three dynasties	657

who then reigned over the Assyrian empire, with a letter, requesting him to give the antiquary access to the royal library at Nineveh, that he might transcribe from the Assyrian records the history of the Armenian kings. In searching through the library, Maribas found a book which contained the annals of the most ancient Asiatic sovereigns; a collection which, from an inscription at the beginning of it, appeared to have been translated out of the Chaldaic into Greek, at the command of Alexander the Great, and deposited in the Royal Library. Maribas is said to have written out of this book in Syriac and Greek whatever related to the history of the Armenian kings, from Haic and Belus, king of Babylon, down to the reign of Sardanapalus, and lower; and presented his book to Valarsaces, king of Armenia, who laid it up in his palace at Nisibis.—*Hist. Armen.* lib. i. c. 8, cited by Jackson.

Maribas mentioned the Babylonian king, Belus, who was contemporary with Haic the first of the Armenian governors, and all the Assyrian kings from Ninus, who were mentioned in the Armenian history, and with whose reigns the Armenian history was connected. But he mentioned no other; on which account Maribas had not an entire catalogue of the Assyrian kings. He had no other besides those whose names occurred in the Armenian history; whom Moses Chorenensis adapted to the Armenian prefects who exercised authority under their several governments. From the history of Maribas it appears that Nineveh, after the destruction of it by the Medes and Babylonians, ceased indeed to be the seat of the Assyrian empire; but that it still retained a certain degree of dignity and importance, possessing a royal library in which were contained the most valuable records of its ancient greatness, and the long line of its earliest kings.—*Ptolemy's*

These numbers accord with the statement of Africanus, embodied in the Chronographia of Georgius Syncellus, which gives to the more immediate successors of Nimrod 225 years; but if we follow the notation of Alexander Polyhistor, and restrict the term now mentioned to 190, the amount of the whole period occupied by the three dynasties will be 35 years less than I have stated; that is, there will be no more than 622 years from the beginning to the end of the ancient Babylonian monarchy.

If there be any accuracy in the chronological system on which we are now proceeding, the government of Nimrod must have had its origin about the year before Christ 2651; wherefore if we allow 622 years for the duration of the three dynasties mentioned above, the commencement of the Assyrian empire properly so called must be dated 2029 years before the same era. If we take the larger number of Africanus, and give to those most ancient races of Babylonian kings the term of 657 years, the establishment of the Assyrian monarchy under Ninus will be 35 years later, that is, in the year 1994 before the birth of our Saviour.

The fragment preserved from Abydenus is of the greatest value for enabling us to fill up the long period between Nimrod and Ninus. To obviate some of the objections which present themselves to the reader of this obscure portion of oriental history, Pezron found it incumbent upon him to suggest that there might be an interregnum or anarchy after the death of the "mighty hunter;" otherwise, says he, it is necessary to suppose that he

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Geography; Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. c. 13; *Arrian de Reb. Indicis; Ammian. Marcellin.* lib. xxii. c. 20. These authors mention Nineveh as a city in their days, but in a state of decline and depopulation. See also *Jackson, Chron. Antiq.* vol. i. p. 263.

reigned about three hundred years. However this may be, he adds, it is certain that there were seven Chaldean kings who succeeded him, and who occupied one after another the throne of the Babylonians. After them, he farther remarks, there were six Arabians who governed that kingdom in succession; upon which Belus, prince of Nineveh, with the assistance of the Arabs and some other tribes, rendered himself master of Babylon, and joined it to the empire of Assyria. In this way he gave a beginning to the first monarchy of the world, which the Greeks very justly denominated the monarchy of the Assyrians.*

It is obvious that this learned writer knew nothing of the third Babylonian dynasty mentioned by Abydenus and Maribas; for if he had, he certainly would not have had recourse to the clumsy expedient of extending the reign of Nimrod to three hundred years. But he contends with great earnestness for the existence of the first and second races. He reminds his readers that Julius Africanus, who compiled his work from the most authentic monuments of antiquity, gave a place in his collection to the Chaldean and Arabian dynasties; and that Eusebius and Syncellus found no difficulty in recognizing these princes as actual sovereigns of ancient Babylon. Polyhistor in like manner makes mention of them in his annals of the Chaldees, which he formed upon the genuine writings of Berosus, of Abydenus, and of Apollodorus. In a word, if we reject the authorities which have been produced for this important fact, and deny that there was a succession of monarchs at Babylon before Ninus subdued the last of the race and extended the Assyrian power over the land of Nimrod, we shall shake the foundation of all ancient history, and

* L'Antiquité des Tems Retablie, p. 127.

reduce to the insignificance of fiction some of the best established records of the primæval world.*

It is not surprising that such authors as have adopted the Masoretic calculation should endeavour to destroy the credibility which is due to the valuable documents which have just been quoted. But it is indeed somewhat unaccountable that any person who understands the difference between the numbers of the Hebrew Bible and those of the Septuagint, as applied to the early postdiluvian patriarchs, should call in question the existence of an ancient Babylonian kingdom prior to the days of Ninus, and consequently the truth of those writers who have recorded the names of the sovereigns by whom it was governed. As Sir William Drummond, in his learned work just published, has professed his scepticism on this historical point, it becomes more necessary than it might otherwise have appeared, to set forth at some length the arguments which

* La pluspart de ceux qui s'attachent a la supputation des Juifs, traitent ces roys de supposés et fabuleux, mais sans en donner aucune raison. J'espere que l'on sera plus favorable quand on aura vu celles qui font pour leur defense: et je crois qu'on ne s'avisera plus de les degrader en les privant des honneurs du trône. Jules Africain ne les a point cru des roys supposés, puisqu'il leur avoit donné place dans son histoire de Tems, composée sur les plus surs et les plus fidelles monumens de l'antiquité. Eusebe et Syncelle n'ont point fait de difficulté de les reconnoitre pour veritables princes des Babyloniens. Comment donc ose-t-on contre l'autorité de ces celebres auteurs, et apres une possession de tant de siecles mettre ces roys parmi les princes fabuleux et imaginaires? Ils ne sont pas les premiers qui en ont parlé. Alexandre Polyhistor, qui etoit du tems de Sylla, en fesoit mention dans l'histoire des Chaldéens, qu'il avoit formé sur les ecrits de Berose, d'Abydene, et d'Apollodore. C'est ce que nous apprend Syncelle, qui dit que cet historien met Evechoüs pour second roy de Babylon, et puis Chomasbelus, et les sept roys Chaldéens: *Evechoüm quidem regum Chaldæorum secundum et Chomasbelum, et post eum septem Chaldæorum reges qui imperárunt* 190 *annis solaribus adducit Polyhistor:* δευτερον μεν Χαλδαιων βασιλεως Ευηχοον και Χομασβηλον, και τους μετ' αυτον ζ. Χαλδαιων βασιλεις εἰζαγει ἐτη κρατησαντας ἡλιακα ρ ϟ'. Cet ancien historien ne donne aux regnes de ces sept Chaldeéns que 190 ans, et Jules Africain leur en donne 225; ce qui fait voir qu'ils avoient pris ces roys en differens auteurs, et par consequent, qu'ils non point eté inconnus aux historiens de l'antiquité.—*L'Antiquité des Tems retablie*, p. 130.

have been urged in support of those ancient annalists, who assert the existence of a Chaldean monarchy as having flourished between the era of Nimrod and that of the Assyrian prince who first transferred the seat of government from Babylon to Nineveh.

Sir William attempts to destroy all the evidence for a Chaldean or Babylonian kingdom between the times of Nimrod and Ninus, by adducing proof that the latter was the son of the former, and consequently that they lived in the same age. The learned author does not indeed direct his reasoning against the historical position maintained by Polyhistor, Eusebius, Africanus, Syncellus, and Jackson, respecting the ancient dynasties already so often mentioned. He takes no notice whatever of their opinions on this head; but by undertaking to prove that the son of the Assyrian Belus was the immediate descendant and successor of the grandson of Ham, he shows his willingness to supersede the inquiry altogether as either trifling or absurd, and thereby to obliterate from the page of history the proper monarchy of Nimrod, as well as the catalogue of sixteen or seventeen princes who followed him in the government of Babylon.

It is perfectly clear, he maintains, from the book of Genesis, that Nimrod and Ninus were contemporaries, for Nineveh, which signifies the habitation of Nin or Ninus, was built in the time of Nimrod.* This argument is far from being conclusive. From the incidental manner in which the foundation of Nineveh is alluded to by the sacred historian, we are not justified in determining the precise date at which it rose into the capital of an empire; nothing more being stated in the text than that, at some

* Origines, vol. i. p. 99.

period either before or after the occupation of Babylonia by Nimrod, a chief named Ashur went out of that country into a more northern district, in which were subsequently built no fewer than four considerable cities. It is not to be imagined that the head of a small body of colonists would at once resolve to employ the strength and patience of his followers in the very useless task of erecting four large towns, for which there were no inhabitants; and yet if we interpret the words of Moses so literally as to draw from them the conclusion, that the very individual who emigrated from Babylonia built the city of Nineveh, we must likewise believe that he also built Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen between Nineveh and Calah.*

Considering that the erection of towns is the work of time, and not likely to be accomplished, in the first moment of settlement, by rude tribes who must necessarily have derived their subsistence from a wide extent of uncultivated country, the greater number of writers on this subject have not been disposed to infer from the inspired narrative any thing more particular, than that Assyria was originally peopled by emigrants from Babylonia; and that their descendants built certain large cities, which, in the days of the Jewish lawgiver, were celebrated among eastern nations for their strength and magnificence. Nor is the ingenious author of the Origines ignorant that such freedom of exposition is allowed to the historian and divine. On the contrary, he avails himself of it so far as to assure his readers that it is not necessary to restrict themselves to the literal statement of Moses, and believe that Nimrod was actually the son of Cush, and the grandson of Ham, although the Scripture defines his genealogy in the clearest terms;

* Genesis x. 10, 11.

but merely that he was a remote descendant of these patriarchs, and lived in the time of Abraham more than a thousand years after the Flood. Now, if this liberty of interpretation may be used in a case where the narrative of the inspired writings is direct, plain, and explicit, we may much more confidently have recourse to it on a question where the subject is introduced only as a passing observation, and without any reference to a fixed or even a relative date. Besides, the holy record does not assert that Ninus built Nineveh. The capital of Assyria, according to the literal statement of the Mosaical narrative, owed its foundation to an emigrant from Babylonia, whose name was Ashur; and hence, to maintain that Nimrod and Ninus must have been contemporaries, because a certain city was built by Ashur in the days of the former, savours of that species of logic which all good reasoners wish to avoid. It is impossible to determine what sort of town or enclosed space the father of the Assyrians might choose to form, when he found himself and his companions in safety beyond the Tigris; but it admits not of any rational doubt, that the city which bore the name of Ninus was the work of a later and more improved age, after wealth had increased, and the rich plains of his extensive kingdom were crowded with inhabitants.

Sir William is not more fortunate in the second attempt which he makes to rest his argument on the basis of Scripture. He concludes that Nimrod was the master of Assyria as well as of Babylonia, and that Ninus was his son and successor, "because," says he, "the prophet Micah calls Assyria the land of Nimrod."* But it will be found upon inspection that the prophet, so far from calling Assyria the

* Origines, vol. i. p. 99.

land of Nimrod, makes a marked distinction between it and Babylonia, saying, "and they shall waste the land of Assyria with the sword, and the land of Nimrod in the entrances thereof:"* that is, according to the commentary of Leclerc, they shall subdue Assyria and Babylonia with arms.† Indeed this passage of Micah has hitherto, as far as I know, been exclusively quoted by those authors whose object it was to prove that the monarchies of Babylon and Assyria were not only different in their origin, but that the former only had ever acknowledged the power of Nimrod. That the Hebrew language will not admit of the particle which is translated *and* being rendered by the word *even*, I am not prepared to deny; but that it has not been so rendered by the Septuagint, nor by any of the most approved critics in modern times, is well known to every biblical scholar.‡ In truth it is only those whose

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* Micah v. 6.

† "*Et pascent terram Assur in gladio, et terram Nimrod in lanceis suis*, vel, *in lanceis ejus*: id est, armis domabunt Assyriam et Babyloniam, quod est regere in virga ferrea."—*Clerici Annotata ad Michæam.*

‡ "Moreover, the land of Ashur, or Assyria, and the land of Nimrod, or Babylonia and Chaldæa, are expressly distinguished by the prophet Micah, chap. v. verse 6. Ashur is there plainly a proper name as Nimrod is, and their land or country is represented as being different from each other. And as both these kingdoms were enemies to the Jewish nation, the king of Assyria first carrying ten tribes into captivity, and afterward the king of Babylon the other two tribes, their countries, called the *land of Ashur* and the *land of Nimrod*, from their founders and first possessors, are each distinctly threatened to be laid waste by the sword."—*Chronological Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 231.

"It is probable that Ashur built Nineveh, by the conquest of the Babylonians by the Assyrians under Ninus. If Nimrod had built Nineveh and planted Assyria, Babylon and Assyria would have been only one empire; and it would be an inconsistence to talk of a succeeding king of one of them conquering the other. That the Assyrians conquered the Babylonians is very particularly mentioned by Diodorus: and, therefore, before Ninus united them, Babylonia and Assyria were two distinct kingdoms, and not the plantation of one and the same founder. *The land of Ashur and the land of Nimrod are mentioned as two distinct countries.* Micah, v. 6.—*Shuckford*, vol. i. p. 173.

opinions coincide with the strange notion of Bochart, that Ashur meant a country and not a man, who imagine that Nimrod after founding Babylon carried out a colony to plant Assyria.

It is no doubt said that Babel was the beginning of Nimrod's kingdom, an expression which seems to imply that it afterwards became more powerful and extensive. But there was ample room for his power to increase both in population and territory without leaving the plain of Shinar. That fertile region, we may presume, was still comparatively unoccupied; the number of inhabitants could not be great in the third descent from Noah's family; and we cannot but suspect that it was a reason very different from want of territorial accommodation which induced the party, who did emigrate from the neighbourhood of Babel, to fix their residence at so great a distance from the borders of the Cuthite hunter. Besides, admitting that his kingdom at Babel did increase, so much even as to render emigration politically expedient, is it at all probable that the monarch of a thriving and powerful state would himself lead forth the superabundant population to a remote land; and, without any regard to the duties and dignity of his office at home, become the head of the new settlement abroad? Such conduct, when ascribed to the wily and ambitious Nimrod, appears equally destitute of wisdom and of probability; and, in short, leaving philological difficulties entirely out of the question, there are so many other objections to the hypothesis of Bochart, that, in my opinion, nothing short of the seducing love of system could prevail upon any reasonable man to adopt it.

Sir William, having satisfied himself that Nimrod and Ninus, as parent and child, lived in the same age, finds it necessary to make them both contemporaries of Abraham;

for several of the Greek historians and chronographers speak of Ninus as living at the same time with the father of the faithful. The observation in regard to Ninus is perfectly correct; for if there be any truth in the chronology which is here applied to guide our narrative, both he and Abraham flourished in the beginning of the twelfth century after the Deluge. But where do we find any authority for postponing the era of Nimrod to so late a period? To this question the ingenious author replies in the following terms:—

"That Abraham and Nimrod were contemporaries is not contradicted by the Scriptures, and is affirmed by various writers, whose authority is of weight in such a question. This fact then is asserted by the authors of the Gemara, or commentary on the Mishna, by the author of the Targum on the Pentateuch ascribed to Jonathan, and by several eminent Rabbins of later date. The Arabians held a similar tradition; and the historian Achmed-ibn-Jusuf, Muhammed Mustapha, and Al-Giannabi, speak of the patriarch as contemporary with the tyrant and robber. The commentators on the Koran have indeed abundantly embroidered this tradition, as have done also the authors of the Persian books called Malim and Sophi Ibrahim. But while we reject their extravagant exaggerations, we may admit these authors to have been right in considering Abraham and Nimrod as contemporaries.*

Had this erudite orientalist called to mind the great difference in the two schemes of chronology pursued by the Jewish writers, and by himself respectively, he could not have ascribed to their opinion the weight which he has

* Origines, vol. i. p. 98.

been pleased to give to it. According to the genealogical notation of the Hebrew Bible which is adopted by the Rabbis, Abraham was born in the 292d year after the Flood; while, agreeably to the computation of the Septuagint, which is approved by Sir William, the son of Terah did not come into the world till the year 1070, reckoning from the same point. It is very obvious, therefore, that, though the authors of the Gemara and Targum might, in complete consistency with their chronological views, maintain that Abraham and Nimrod were contemporaries, the same opinion cannot be held by a writer who not only refuses to concur in the conclusions of their chronology, but directly accuses them of diminishing, to the extent of seven hundred years, the very period under consideration, that, namely, from the Flood to the birth of Abraham.

Is there any one, then, who does not clearly perceive that the author of the Origines has called in the aid of an auxiliary, with whom he does not hold one point in common? The Rabbis believe that Nimrod began to rule early in the second century of the new world, and that Abraham was born towards the close of the third; and as the life of man at that early period usually exceeded two hundred years, it was not unreasonable on their part to suppose that the latter had attained to some degree of maturity before the other was called away by death. But the distinguished chronographer, whose work we are now considering, maintains that the progenitor of the Hebrews was not born before the end of the tenth century; and yet he adduces the authority of the Jewish commentators in support of the opinion, that this patriarch was contemporary with another personage who, according to them, existed about seven hundred years before him. In a word, to have rendered the testimony of the Rabbis of any use to his hypothesis, Sir William should first have shown that they

agreed with him in adding seven hundred years to the period which elapsed between the Flood and the nativity of the patriarch; for, unless he meet with them on this common ground, their authority not only goes for nothing, but actually places itself in direct opposition to the very point which by means of it he wishes to establish. None of the Rabbinical writers admit that the birth of Nimrod was delayed till a thousand years after the universal deluge. The reader, therefore, who has bestowed upon these considerations the attention to which they lay claim, will hardly accede to the conclusion which the author has founded upon his reasoning, namely, that "the evidence which proves Nimrod, Ninus, and Abraham to have been contemporaries, appears to be too strong to be set aside."*

But there is a farther inconsistency in the opinion entertained by Sir William. If Nimrod did not live till the days of Abraham, it will follow that the Babylonian monarchy, instead of being the first of the kingdoms which were established after the renovation of the human race, must have been posterior to Egypt and several others. The accomplished author himself allows that the state of society in the time of Abraham argues its long previous existence. Powerful kingdoms were already established: great cities had been built; and regular armies were maintained. Mankind already witnessed the pomp of courts, and the luxury of individuals. Pharaoh appeared surrounded with his princes: Abimelech came attended with the captain of his host; and Abraham himself was rich in gold and silver, in tents, in flocks, and in herds.†

If such was the condition of things in Egypt, and other countries at a comparatively great distance from the origi-

* Origines, vol. i. p. 10.

† Origines, vol. i. p. 102.

nal seat of population, is it not extremely improbable, that, in the plain of Shinar, and on the borders of the Euphrates and Tigris, no kingdom should have been formed, no cities built, and no courts established? There can be no doubt that Moses, in giving the history of Nimrod, meant to convey to his readers such knowledge as had reached his age, respecting the first institution of political authority and of regular government among the descendants of Noah. The beginning of regal power was at Babel; and the grandson of Ham is represented as the first sovereign who aspired to independence and the prerogative of an autocrat. Babylonia was known to the latest period of the Jewish state as the land of Nimrod; and it is, moreover, the general belief that the persons who emigrated thence into Assyria, fled away from the face of a tyrant, and from the pressure of a threatened despotism which they could not otherwise avoid.

But, again, this same Nimrod, according to the author of the Origines, was a native of Egypt, the son of Neptune and Libya. He is said to have conducted a colony from that kingdom to Babylon; where he instituted an order of priests called Chaldeans, who, like the priests of Egypt, were exempt from all tribute and service, and who like them were employed in the study of physics and astronomy. In this particular the great-grandson of Noah is identified with Belus, who, as we are informed by Diodorus Siculus, carried a body of emigrants towards the east, and established a sort of college in the vicinity of the Euphrates; while the celebrated Danaus, his son or brother, was employed in increasing by similar means the inhabitants of Argos, one of the most ancient cities of Greece.*

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* Οἱ δὲ ὖν Αἰγυπτοι φασι καὶ μετα ταυτα ἀποικιας πλεισταις ἐξ Αἰγυπτου κατα πασαν διασπαρηναι την οἰκουμενην. Εἰς Βαβυλωνα μεν γαρ ἀγαγειν ἀποικους Βη-

The only authority alleged for this singular commentary on the Mosaical narrative is the fact, which is indeed mentioned by several ancient writers, that Ninus was the son of a chief called Belus; and as Sir William had previously established to his own satisfaction that Ninus was the son of Nimrod, it follows that Belus and Nimrod must be the same person. But no one knows better than this learned and most industrious scholar, that, as Belus signified lord, or chief, or master, it was applied to a great number of individuals upon earth, and even to the solar orb in the firmament. It became the common appellation of every distinguished sovereign; and was also very frequently introduced into the names of those more obscure princes who had no other claim to notice than that they were descended from a royal lineage.* In the Chaldean and Assyrian dynasties there are several kings who bear the designation of Belus: and the same title was conferred by the Phenicians, the Persians, the Syrians, the Phrygians, and even by the remote people of India. Hence, it must be

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λον τον νομιζομενον Ποσειδῶνος εἶναι και Λιβυης· Ὁν παρα τον Ευφρατην ποταμον καθιδρυνθεντα, τους δε ἱερεις καταστησασθαι παραπλησιως τοις κατ' Αιγυπτον ἀτελεῖς, και πασης λειτουργιας, ὁυς Βαβυλωνιοι καλοῦσι Χαλδαιους.—*Diod. Sicul.* lib. i. c. 28.

* "The title of Bel, or Lord, as applied to the sun by the Tsabaists, seems to have had its origin among the descendants of Ham; and we accordingly find this name given to their principal deity by the idolators of almost every region of the globe, where heliolatry prevailed. We have seen that Diodorus traces Belus to Egypt. The Philistines, as appears from Scripture, adored the sun under the name of Baal (בעל) Dominus. The Phenicians adored the sun under the name of *Beel-Samen*, Lord of Heaven. The ancient Arabians were apparently worshippers of Baal. In Sanscrit, *Bali* signifies the strong or mighty one: Neither have I any hesitation in translating the ancient Indian names *Maha-Beli* and *Bala-Deva*, the great lord and the divine lord. The ancient Persians, according to the author of the Dabistan, named one of their monarchs *Mah-bul*, which is clearly a corruption of the Indian *Maha-Bala*, the great lord or great king. With respect to the signification of king attached to the word Baal there is no difficulty, since the distinction between king and lord, where there is no doubt that there is a master, is of little consequence."—*Origines*, vol. i. p. 109, 110.

evident that Sir William Drummond is chargeable with haste in the inference which he draws from the use of a very common word; and that there is no reason whatever for believing that Belus the Egyptian, who lived in the era of the Grecian commonwealths, was Nimrod the mighty hunter, the son of Cush, and the founder of the Babylonian monarchy.

We next find that this hero of antiquity, the giant, the robber, the tyrant, the apostate, was, according to the author whose opinions we are now considering, king of Shinar in the days of Abraham, and consequently one of the three vassal sovereigns under Chedorlaomer, who were defeated by that patriarch. His words are these: "As we know that Belus or Nimrod was king of Shinar, it seems evident, I think, that he was one of the kings defeated by Abraham; and that the orientalists are right in considering this prince as the contemporary of the patriarch."*

Such an opinion, it appears to me, carries its own refutation along with it. There is not the slightest evidence in ancient history, either sacred or profane, that Nimrod held his kingdom under the protection and superiority of the Iranian monarch. We cannot trace the most distant affinity between Amraphel, the chief of a small tribe on the borders of Arabia, and the formidable warrior, the beginning of whose power was at Babel, and who has left the terror of his name among all the nations of the East. In short, this is one of the numerous perplexities in which Sir William has involved his system, by identifying Nimrod with Belus the father of Ninus.

* Origines, vol. i. p. 279. The orientalists, be it noted, did not consider this prince (Nimrod) as the contemporary of the patriarch; they considered *Ninus* and Abraham as contemporaries; and it is only because Sir William maintains that Ninus was the son of Nimrod, that he finds it necessary to bring the son of Cush down to an era seven hundred years later than his proper time.

As soon as an author departs from the line of historical truth, he finds himself surrounded with darkness and inconsistency. For example, the whole current of ancient testimony runs in favour of the opinion that Ninus conquered Babylonia, and subjected it as well as the adjacent provinces to the Assyrian throne. There is hardly a writer of antiquity who does not concur in this statement. But Sir William Drummond, who sees in Ninus only the son and natural successor of Nimrod, is forced to pronounce the conquest of Babylon by the Assyrian arms, a groundless fiction. "We have seen," says he, "from the testimony of various authors, that Ninus was the son of Belus or Nimrod. The account, consequently, which is given by Diodorus of the conquest of Babylon by Ninus is utterly improbable, since the son, it is natural to suppose, would succeed to the dominions of his father. It is to Belus himself that we ought to ascribe this conquest: and there may be reason to think that the same prince obtained possession of the whole territory of Shinar, on agreeing to become a vassal to the Persian monarch."*

Another inconvenience which arises from identifying the era of Nimrod with that of Ninus, is the necessity of admitting that several generations of kings may have reigned at Babylon before the son of Cush was born. Sir William complains that the question respecting the commencement of the Assyrian empire is rendered more perplexing than it would otherwise have been, by the list which Africanus has preserved of the first sovereigns of Babylon, as well as by the assertion made by the same chronographer, that the dynasty of Nimrod or Belus terminated at the seventh generation, and was succeeded on

* Origines, vol. i. p. 279, 280.

the throne of Chaldea by an Arabian family, of whom six had reigned before Babylonia was conquered by Ninus. This statement, he maintains, stands in opposition to all historical testimony both sacred and profane; for as Ninus was the son of Nimrod, it is, says he, impossible to suppose that the former did not live until thirteen generations after the latter. But the learned author is too ingenuous and well-informed to deny that the catalogues transmitted to us by Africanus are to be found in other collections; and, moreover, that the voice of antiquity is almost unanimous in declaring that several dynasties had occupied the throne of Chaldea, before the epoch at which Ninus laid the foundations of Assyrian greatness. For these reasons, and particularly from the consideration of the long period which must have elapsed between the origin of society in the land of Shinar, and the age when powerful kingdoms were already established, great cities were built, and mankind witnessed the pomp of courts, he finds himself compelled to allow that a long succession of princes may have ruled at Babylon before it submitted to the arms of Ninus. "Africanus may be right," he concludes, (for I adopt with him the chronology of the Seventy) "in asserting that two different dynasties had reigned over Chaldea before the time of Ninus; but he is manifestly wrong in representing the first of those two dynasties as descended from Nimrod."*

It does not, therefore, admit of any reasonable controversy that Babylon was the seat of a royal government many years before the establishment of the Assyrian empire under Ninus. We are not, indeed, thence to infer that the prince now named was the first monarch of Assy-

* Origines, vol. i. p. 223, 224.

ria, or that the country which was planted by Ashur had not, in the course of several centuries, attained to a considerable degree of power. But it seems, notwithstanding, perfectly clear, that, until Ninus extended his victorious arms into Babylonia, no paramount dominion was acknowledged in those extensive plains which are watered by the Euphrates and the Tigris. The land of Ashur and the land of Nimrod presented each a small kingdom, consisting, it is probable, of many tribes or families; the heads of which had not yet resigned into the hand of the general sovereign the privileges of independent chiefs, and especially the right of making peace and war whenever their particular interests might appear to be affected.

But it would be in vain to conjecture what was the actual situation of the community which was governed by the successors of Ashur at Nineveh during the period that the first Babylonian kingdom subsisted; or even to attempt to discover the reasons why its name did not sooner emerge from that obscurity which covers the origin of nations. It has been supposed that it was placed under a species of political subjection to the ruler of Babylon, in which it continued till the time of Belus, the father of Ninus; who, in the capacity of a provincial governor, is imagined to have first set the example of throwing off the allegiance which was due to the older settlement, and, finally, to have asserted the independence of the Assyrian provinces. On this account he has been esteemed by many writers as the most ancient monarch of Assyria; the first of the long line of kings which stretched down to the extinction of the empire in the days of Sardanapalus.*

* "Je ne crains pas d'avancer que les successeurs d'Assur sont demeurés dans l'obscurité pendant plus de 600 ans. Bien loin de trouver dans les libres sacrés les moindres vestiges de leur pretendüe puissance, il n'est besoin

Although I have attempted to prove, that between Nimrod and Ninus there was an interval of several centuries, and also that a number of kings reigned at Babylon before the Assyrian colonists obtained that ascendancy over their brethren in the south which has raised their name to the highest place in the annals of ancient Asia, I have not presumed to determine the exact extent of that interval, nor the precise amount of the royal successions which filled it up. Some chronographers have laboured to establish the existence of the three dynasties which, on the authority of Africanus and Abydenus, have been mentioned with considerable minuteness in the foregoing pages; while others, exercising a whimsical scepticism in regard to certain parts of ancient history, have pronounced the whole doubtful, and the last, in particular, namely, the dynasty of the Cuthite Belus, to be nothing better than an idle tale.*

The existence of these dynasties is chiefly contested by those writers who follow the chronology of the modern Hebrew, which leaves no time between the accession of Nimrod and the days of Abraham for an ancient Babylonian kingdom. But, on the other hand, the testimonies of respectable historians and chronologers in support of this fact are so numerous, that some of the most sceptical readers of Africanus and Polyhistor have been compelled to allow that the seat of government was originally placed at Babylon, and that many years elapsed before it was transferred to Nineveh. Bishop Cumberland, for example, admits that the observations sent to Greece by Callisthenes prove at once the antiquity of the Assyrian empire, and

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que d'une mediocre attention pour y decouvrir que ces princes ont eté plusieurs siecles sans songer a faire des conquêtes."—*Recherches sur l'histoire de l'Assyrie. Par M. l'Abbé Sevin, Hist. de l'Acad. Roy.*, vol. iii. p. 248.

* Origines, vol. i.

also that Babylon was its first head. From the beginning of Nimrod's reign to the establishment of Nineveh, and the proper commencement of the Assyrian monarchy, there was, according to this author, an interval of 185 years; a period not very different from the limits assigned by Polyhistor to the first dynasty of Chaldean sovereigns.*

The Abbé Sevin, in his researches into the history of Assyria, agrees with Pezron and Jackson in admitting the statement of Polyhistor and of Julius Africanus respecting the Arabian dynasty at Babylon; and although he adopts the common opinion, so resolutely opposed by the author of the Chronological Antiquities, that Belus, the head of the third race, was the father of Ninus, he nevertheless gives the full weight of his authority in favour of those ancient writers who place, between Nimrod and the Assyrian conqueror just named, the reigns of several successive monarchs. Assuming that Belus was a descendant of Ashur, he remarks, that he was no sooner on the throne than he determined to recover the province of Babylon which Nimrod had taken away from his ancestors. After the death of that usurper, says he, sundry great revolutions had taken place in this state. The Arabs, in the last instance, had taken possession of it; and, according to Polyhistor and Africanus, 200 years had already

* "I think that the celestial Observations found in Babylon when it was taken by or surrendered to Alexander, which had been made from above 1900 years before his time, and cannot be presumed to be kept as public records before a monarchy was founded, prove the antiquity of the Assyrian monarchy, whereof Babylon was a part, and its first head, (See Genesis x. 10,) although, in later times, Nineveh grew to contest for superiority. The beginning of these Observations being 2480 of the Julian Period, that year Scaliger affirms from Callisthenes in Simplicius to be the first year of the eldest epocha of the Chaldeans, supposing their years to be Julian years. Hence to J. P. 2665, where I place the beginning of Nineveh and the Assyrian monarchy, are 185 years for Ham, and Cush, and Nimrod in Babylon."—*Origines Gentium Antiquissimæ*, p. 228, 229.

passed during which these strangers retained the peaceful enjoyment of their conquest, when Belus invaded Babylonia with a powerful army. He defeated Nabonnadus, who was at that time the reigning monarch; and by means of this victory he rendered himself master of a kingdom to which he had the best founded pretensions. This important conquest made the Assyrians formidable to all the East.†

Mr Faber, in his valuable and laborious work on the Origin of Pagan Idolatry, acknowledges that six kings succeeded Nimrod, not at Babylon but at Nineveh, before the commencement of the proper Assyrian empire; or at least before the accession of the first of those sovereigns who compose the dynasty given by Ctesias, extending from Ninus to Thonos Concolerus. As to the Arabs, again, he maintains that they effected no more than a temporary conquest of Chaldea alone; and that, though they continued to occupy the country which they had overrun with their arms, during the long space of 215 years, yet, as the Assyrian empire had long before begun at Nineveh under the auspices of Nimrod, the Arabian dynasty did not succeed the first seven kings, as Africanus and Polyhistor have recorded, but merely governed a conquered province at a distance from the capital. The dynasty of the seven earliest princes, says he, joins immediately in

† "Belus ne fut pas plutot monté sur le thrône qu'il forma le dessein de recouvrir la province de Babylone que Nemrod avoit enlevé a ses ancêtres. Depuis la mort de cette usurpateur, il etoit arrivé de grandes revolutions dans cet etat. Les Arabes en dernier lieu s'en etoient emparés, et il y avoit 200 ans, suivant Alexandre Polyhistor et Jules Africain, que ces princes en jouissoient paisiblement, lorsque Belus entra Babylonie avec une puissante armée. Il defit Nabonnadus qui y regnoit alors, et par cette victoire il demeura maitre de ce royaume, sur lequel il avoit des pretentions legitimes. Cette importante conquête rendit les Assyriens formidables a tout l'Orient."—*Hist. de l'Acad. Roy.* vol. iii. p. 152.

point of chronological succession, to the dynasty of the thirty-six Ninevite sovereigns as detailed by Ctesias. Those seven princes, he adds, must have been Nimrod and his lineal descendants; and the next thirty-six kings must either have sprung from a younger branch of the house of Nimrod, or must have been members of another Cuthic family which ascended the throne upon the extinction or abdication of the royal house of the founder.*

* Origin of Pagan Idolatry, vol. iii. p. 398, 399. Mr Faber seems to think that the Arabs conquered Chaldea "after the Iranian seat of government had been removed from Babylon to Nineveh," that is, as he remarks in another place, "at the close of the first dynasty, when, in the days of Serug, the original Scythic name and succession terminated."—*See vol. iii. p. 397, compared with page 573 of the same volume.*

I leave it to the careful reader of Mr Faber's book to determine whether the learned author is not chargeable with a slight degree of inconsistency in this place. *His opinion, with respect to the kingdom of Babylon,* appears not to admit that Nimrod established any regal power there at all; but that this chief, finding himself thwarted by the divine anger which confused the tongues of his followers, almost immediately relinquished his projected undertaking on the Euphrates, and proceeded to found a more auspicious settlement in the vicinity of the Tigris. At page 378, volume third, when speaking of Nimrod, he observes, "though such was the *beginning* of his kingdom, its power did not remain stationary, nor was Babel long the seat of government. The dispersion, indeed, took from him a large proportion of his subjects; but he had still a sufficient number remaining very greatly to extend his dominions northward. Mortified with the check which he had received, and disgusted with his late metropolis which had witnessed it, he went out of the land of Shinar into the region which was chiefly peopled by the children of Ashur, and which, from that patriarch, took the name of Ashur or Assyria. Here he built a new capital upon the Tigris or Hiddekel; and calling it after his own appellation, *Ninus*, he reigned henceforth at Nineveh."—"Babylon, the scene of Nimrod's humiliating discomfiture, appears to have long remained in a neglected state, and (except perhaps during the short dynasty of the Arabian invaders, as they have been called) to have sunk to the condition of a provincial town."—*Volume iii. p. 379.*

The inconsistency alluded to appears in this: the author informs us, that the Arabs conquered Chaldea "after the Iranian seat of government had been removed from Babylon to Nineveh," though he had distinctly stated that Nimrod retired in disgust or terror from the former city without founding there any government at all. In what sense could the seat of government be said to be *removed?* Besides, we are told, at page 573, that the Arabians took possession of Chaldea at the *close of the first dynasty*; that is about 190 years after Nimrod left Babylon, and after the reigns of six of his successors.

Agreeably then to the views of Mr Faber, there was no Babylonian kingdom prior to the rise of the Assyrian empire; which latter state, according to his notions, was founded by Nimrod on the banks of the Tigris, soon after the confusion of tongues and the consequent dispersion of his followers. The first of the dynasties mentioned by Africanus and Polyhistor must, therefore, be regarded as the immediate descendants or successors of the mighty hunter; while the second, or Arabian, were merely a collateral branch of rulers, who had seized a province by force of arms, where they braved the power of the legitimate sovereigns during more than two centuries.

Mr Faber agrees with Sir William Drummond so far as to obliterate all traces of a distinct Babylonian kingdom more ancient than the Assyrian, and even in dating the beginning of the latter monarchy in the time of Nimrod; but while the rector of Long-Newton places the grandson of Ham in the seventh century after the Flood, the baronet brings him down to an epoch three hundred years lower.

But nothing, I think, in ancient history can be clearer than that there were sovereigns at Babylon before it was reduced by the celebrated Ninus, whose name stands at the head of the Assyrian dynasty preserved by Ctesias. That this ambitious prince was indebted for the possession of Babylonia to his victorious arms, and not to hereditary right, is distinctly stated by Diodorus Siculus; and as he was aided in his conquests by the king of the Arabians, there is fair ground for concluding that the second dynasty described by Africanus had already given place to a more powerful body of invaders. The Sicilian historian relates that Ninus the king of the Assyrians having called to his assistance the ruler of the Arabs, attacked with a numerous army those Babylonians which were nearest to his own

territories. But the Babylon, he adds, which now is was not then built. The country, however, contained several other cities of some consequence, whose inhabitants, unused to war and ignorant of the means of defence, were easily brought into subjection, and burdened with an annual tribute. Ninus having taken captive the king of the vanquished people with his children, forthwith put them to death.*

But it is now full time that we proceed to the consideration of the question which respects the duration of the Assyrian monarchy; and more particularly, as upon the just solution of it depends our ultimate determination relative to the date of its commencement.

The principal authority for the number of kings who occupied the throne of Assyria, from Ninus to the dissolution of the empire, is Ctesias, a Greek physician, who lived seventeen years at the court of Artaxerxes Mnemon, and who, under the protection of that Persian monarch, was permitted to examine and even to copy the ancient records of the kingdom. The catalogue which Ctesias was thus enabled to produce, was afterwards transcribed by Castor of Rhodes, Velleius Paterculus, Diodorus Siculus, and other historians; by which means, as well as through the industry of Eusebius, Julius Africanus, and Syncellus, the labours of the Grecian antiquary have been preserved till the present day.† The sum of the successive reigns

* Ὁ δ' οὖν των Ασσυριων βασιλευς Νινος τον δυναστευοντα των Αραβων παρακαλων, ἰστρατευσε μετα πολλης δυναμεως ἐπι Βαζυλωνιους κατοικουντας ὁμορον χωραν· Κατ' ἐκεινους δε τους χρονους ἡ μεν νυν ουσα Βαζυλων ουκ ἐκτισμενη, κατα δε την Βαζυλωνιαν ὑπηρχον ἀλλαι πολεις ἀξιολογοι. Ῥαδιως δε χειρωσαμενος τους ἐγχωριους, δια το των ἐν τοις πολεμοις κινδυνων ἀπειρως ἐχειν, τουτοις μεν ἐταξε τελειν, καθ' ἑαυτον ὡρισμενους φορους, τον δε βασιλεα των καταπολεμηθεντων λαβων μετα των τεκνων ἀχμαλωτον ἀπεκτεινε.—*Diodor. Sicul.* lib. ii. c. 1.

† Ctesias transcribed the materials of his Persic and Assyrian History from the Royal Archives, and finished his work in the 3d year of the 95th Olympiad, and in the year B. C. 398.—*Dio. Sic.* lib. ii. c. 32.

amounts to about 1300 years, or, according to the various readings of different copies of Diodorus, to 1360, and even to 1400 years and upwards. The number of the reigns, too, varies somewhat in the several authors who profess to follow Ctesias; but upon comparing their statements, in connection with their respective systems of chronology, there is little doubt that the original transcript presented to the Greek historians a succession of 36 Assyrian princes. The list is as follows:—

1. Ninus,	52
2. Semiramis,	42
3. Ninyas,	38
4. Arius,	30
5. Aralius,	40
6. Xerxes or Balæus,	30
7. Armanithres,	38
8. Belochus,	35
9. Balæus,	52
10. Sethos, Altadas,	35
11. Mamythus,	30
12. Ascalius or Mascaleus,	30
13. Sphærus,	28
14. Mamylus,	30
15. Sparthæus,	40
16. Ascatades,	42
17. Amyntes,	50
18. Belochus, 2d,	25
19. Baletores or Baletaras,	34
20. Lamprides,	37
21. Sosares,	20
22. Lampares,	30
23. Panyas,	45
24. Sosarmus,	42

25.	Mithræus,	37
26.	Teutamus or Tautanus,	32
27.	Teutæus,	44
28.	Thineus,	30
29.	Dercylus,	40
30.	Empaemes,	38
31.	Laosthenes,	45
32.	Pertiades,	30
33.	Ophratæus,	21
34.	Ephecheres,	52
35.	Acraganes,	42
36.	Thonos Concolerus or Sardanapalus,	20
		1305

This catalogue has not obtained all the confirmation that could be desired from the pages of Diodorus Siculus; who, instead of transcribing the whole, satisfied himself with naming the first three, Ninus, Semiramis, and Ninyas, after which he passes on at once to Sardanapalus, the last in the series, as recorded by Ctesias. It is not necessary, says he, to repeat the names of kings, or to determine how long they reigned, when we know that they did not perform any thing which is worthy of being remembered.* The above list, therefore, rests on the authority of other writers who copied from Ctesias, soon after the period in which he flourished, and from whose works Africanus, Eusebius, and Syncellus, transferred this valuable relic of antiquity to their own pages.

But Diodorus, although he did not, for the reasons

* Τα δ ὀνοματα παντων των βασιλεων, και το πληθος των ἐτων ὠν ἑκαστος ἐβασιλευσεν, οὐ κατειτιγει γραφειν, δια το μηδεν ὑπ' αυτων πεπραχθαι μνημης ἀξιον.—*Diodor. Sicul.* lib. ii. 22.

which he himself assigns, think it expedient to enter into particulars, has given both the number of the reigns and the total amount of their duration, as he found them recorded in the volumes of the Greek physician. Having described the manner in which Ninyas passed his time, he remarks, that his successors for thirty generations lived in the same way; the son receiving the government from the father down to the time of Sardanapalus; in whose days the Assyrian empire was transferred to the Medes, after it had lasted 1360 years, as Ctesias the Cnidian has related in his second book.*

It is remarkable that Syncellus in quoting this passage has 1300 instead of 1360, as the term of the Assyrian monarchy; and in regard to the number of reigns or generations, all his citations from the same author give 35 from Ninus to Sardanapalus. In reference to the latter of these sovereigns, the Sicilian historian is made to say: Σαρδαναπαλος δε τριακοστος και πεμπτος απο Νινου στησαμενου την ηγεμονιαν, εσχατος δε γενομενος βασιλευς Ασσυριων: that is, Sardanapalus was the thirty-fifth from Ninus, who founded the empire, and the last of the Assyrian kings.† And again: Ταυτα δ Διοδωρος περι της του Σαρδαναπαλου καταστροφης, και οτι λ ε'. απο Νινου γεγονε βασιλευς Ασσυριων, ων πρωτον ειναι βασιλεα τον αυτον Ασσυριων προλαβων ανωτερω ειφη: "these things Diodorus relates concerning the downfall of Sardanapalus, and that he was

* Παραπλησιως δε τουτω και οι λοιποι βασιλεις, παις παρα πατρος διαδεχομενος την αρχην, επι γενιας τριακοντα εβασιλευσαν μεχρι Σαρδαναπαλου. Επι τουτου γαρ η των Ασσυριων ηγεμονια μετεπεσεν εις Μηδους, ετη διαμεινασα πλειω των χιλιων και τριακοσιων, ετι δ' εξηκοντα, καθαπερ φησι Κτησιας ο Κνιδιος εν τη δευτερα βιβλω. —*Diod. Sicul.* lib. ii. c. 21.

This passage is cited by Syncellus as follows:

Παραπλησιως δε οι λοιποι βασιλεις παιδες παρα πατρος διαδεχομενοι την αρχην εβασιλευσαν επι γενιας λ ε'. μεχρι Σαρδαναπαλου. επι τουτου η των Ασσυριων ηγεμονια μετεπεσεν εις Μηδους ετη διαμεινασα πλειω των ω'. και τ' καθαπερ φησι Κτησιας ο Κνιδιος εν τη ϛ'. βιβλω.

† Syncelli Chronographia, p. 165.

the thirty-fifth from Ninus, whom he had formerly mentioned to be the first king of the Assyrians."* There are several other passages in Syncellus, extracted from Diodorus, which prove satisfactorily both that the chronographer must have read a text of that author different from the present; and also that the historian must have originally agreed with the other transcribers of Ctesias in giving 36 generations, and only a little more than 1300 years to the Assyrian empire, from Ninus to the catastrophe of the prince who is known by the double appellation of Thonos Concolerus and of Sardanapalus.

Assuming the accuracy of these corrections, it remains that we apply the facts so as to ascertain whether the term of the Assyrian monarchy recorded by Ctesias will coincide with the interval between the two points which have been actually fixed on for its commencement and its termination. I shall begin with the scheme of Mr Jackson, whose opinions are always founded on deep research, and generally supported by accurate reasoning.

Following the authority of Ctesias and of Diodorus Siculus, he adopts the sums which have been stated above, as well for the number and length of the reigns between Ninus and Concolerus, as for the united amount of their duration; namely, 36 for the former, and 1306 for the latter. But as Ninus, according to the historian of Cnidus, began his government in the year 2127 before the Christian era, the Assyrian monarchy must have been dissolved 821 years before the same epoch; that is, says Jackson, about 110 years before the revolt of the Medes, the event which is commonly regarded as marking the end of the *empire* which was founded by the son of Belus.†

* Syncelli Chronographia, ubi supra.

† The numbers here, having a reference to the Christian era, proceed

The same author maintains that, in the year 821 before Christ, there was no revolution or change whatever in the Assyrian government, which could give any countenance to the statement of Ctesias respecting its dissolution at that period; on which account he brings down the reign of the 36th king to the year 710, when, and not before, he asserts, the Medes under their prefect Arbianes did throw off their allegiance. Now, if to 1306, the entire duration of the Assyrian empire, we add 710, the term of the Median revolt, it will follow that the reign of Ninus must be dated in the year B.C. 2016. If, again, to the sum now stated we annex 622, the amount of the three Babylonian dynasties which are supposed to have preceded the foundation of the Assyrian monarchy, we shall find that the beginning of Nimrod's kingdom, according to this author, must have taken place about 532 years after the Flood, and before the era of Redemption 2638.

There is much appearance of truth and consistency in this scheme; for not only do the particular numbers coincide with the intervals to which they are applied, but the total sum appears to extend exactly over the space which is occupied in history, both sacred and profane, by the two monarchies of Babylon and Assyria. The beginning of the former is not too early; and the termination of the latter, as an *empire*, is not too late.

But we must, nevertheless, advert to the fact, that Mr Jackson has fixed the commencement of the Assyrian power on the ground of his calculation relative to the duration of the three dynasties which are supposed to have

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on the ground of Mr Jackson's chronological conclusions, that our Saviour was born in the year of the world 5426; but I may add that, with respect to all events after the foundation of Solomon's temple, the difference among chronographers is a mere trifle.

ruled at Babylon; of which dynasties the existence was not known to Ctesias, and has been called in question by several authors in more modern times. This is not, therefore, of itself a sufficient reason for postponing the rise of the Assyrian state, and the era of its celebrated founder. To be satisfied that the beginning is properly placed, we must have good ground for concurring with him in the epoch at which he brings it to a close.*

That Ctesias was mistaken in supposing that the Assyrian monarchy was finally dissolved, and the government of Asia transferred to the Medes, 821 years before the Christian era, is, Jackson thinks, rendered perfectly clear by the testimony of the sacred Scriptures; where mention is made of several kings of Assyria who reigned over Media and Babylonia at a much later period. It is, therefore, almost certain that the Medes, whom he describes as having ascended the throne of Concolerus, were not sovereigns at all, either at Nineveh or in their own country; but were merely local governors, who on many occasions, indeed, assumed the exercise of independent authority, and set the lord paramount at defiance. But this mistake, if it be one, does not necessarily overthrow the credibility of Ctesias as to the remote origin of the Assyrian empire; and upon examining the arguments of Freret, which we are now about to examine, we shall perhaps discover that, in the history of Ninus's successors, there occurred more

* "I have shown," says Mr Jackson, "that Ctesias placed Ninus too high by more than a hundred years: *this is evident from the Chaldean records of the years of the Babylonian kings to the time that he conquered Babylon.* But Ctesias never saw the Chaldean annals, nor knew any thing of the times of their kings before Ninus; on which account he was more liable to mistake in fixing the epoch of the Assyrian era. Yet his catalogue is of the greatest service as giving us the entire term of the Assyrian empire to the revolt of the Medes, which otherwise we could not have known."—*Chronological Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 281.

than one event which might, even by a careful annalist, be regarded as a change of dynasty and an entire loss of power.

The hypothesis of the learned academician just named rests almost entirely upon an observation quoted by Velleius from Æmilius Sura, the author of a chronological work on Roman history; who remarks that, between the beginning of the reign of Ninus and the conquest of Asia by Lucullus and Pompey, there elapsed 1905 years. The following are the terms in which this opinion is expressed. Assyrii principes omnium gentium rerum potiti sunt; deinde Medi; postea Persæ; deinde Macedones; exinde duobus regibus Philippo et Antiocho, qui a Macedonibus oriundi erant, haud multo post Carthaginem subactam, devictis, summa imperii ad Populum Romanum pervenit: inter hoc tempus et initium Nini regis Assyriorum, qui princeps rerum potitus, intersunt anni MDCCCCV.*

It is admitted on all hands, that the Roman dominion in Asia was fully established in the 63d year before the common era of our faith; hence, if we adopt the amended reading of the fragment cited by Velleius, the reign of the first king of Assyria must have begun in the year B.C. 1968; this being the sum of the two numbers 1905 and 63, mentioned above, and which are made the basis of all the succeeding chronological computations. In applying the principles of his theory, the author, as it will appear, was gratified with some very striking results;

* The more common reading is 1995; but Freret, on the authority of Conringius, maintains that the editions which give 1905, have the support of the most approved manuscripts. La leçon de 1995 est celle de l'edition de *Beatus Rhenanus*, faite sur un Manuscrit de Velleius trouvé a Murbael en 1505, ou plutot sur la copie faite a la hâte, *properanter et infeliciter*, d'un Manuscrit tres-corrompu, *tam prodigiose corruptum ut omnia restituere non foret humani ingenii.—Epist. Beat. Rhen.* &c. cited by Freret.

which, if they do not carry complete conviction to the mind of the reader, prove, at least, that, in some cases, only a very *little* management is necessary to reconcile the most stubborn facts in ancient history.

In the first place, assuming that Nineveh was destroyed by the Medes and Babylonians, in B.C. 608, when the Assyrian monarchy ceased to exist in name as well as in power, its duration from the time of Ninus will be found to amount to 1360 years; the very period mentioned by Diodorus, as the result of the inquiries which were made by his predecessor Ctesias. The former of these historians, indeed, states, in a particular part of his work, that the interval now spoken of extended to more than 1400 years; but it is probable that in this lengthened period he included the years of Belus, which, Julius Africanus informs us, amounted to not less than fifty-five.*

It is well known, in the second place, that Castor, the Rhodian chronographer, assigns to the Assyrian empire not more than 1280 years; reckoning from the first Ninus, the son and successor of Belus, down to another Ninus, who, according to him, ascended the throne after the death or deposition of Sardanapalus. If the number just stated be subtracted from 1968, the revolution or other political change alluded to by Castor, as the opening of a new era in the affairs of Assyria, must have occurred in the year 688 before the Christian era. Now, it is very remarkable that this is the very year in which, according to Herodotus, the empire of the Medes in upper Asia had its commencement. This historian relates that the Median supremacy lasted 128 years from its beginning in the time of Dejoces to its termination in the first year of

* Syncelli Chronographia, p. 92.

Cyrus; and as the Persian prince came to the throne in 560, the subjugation of Armenia, Cappadocia, and other parts of the Assyrian territory achieved by the arms of the first sovereign of Media, will fall in the year 688, as has been stated above.*

This conformity, says Freret, between the calculation of Castor and that of Herodotus, as it is too perfect to be attributed to chance alone, ought to be regarded as a strong voucher for the truth of the epoch given by Æmilius Sura, for the beginning of the Assyrian empire. It shows, at the same time, that Castor, who had consulted Herodotus, did not think that the 520 years mentioned by the latter writer as the limits of the Assyrian dominion in upper Asia, constituted the full duration of their monarchy. Had he understood the father of history as restricting the house of Ninus to so short a period, he himself, it may be presumed, would not have extended the term of its duration to 1280 years; without at least alluding to this difference in their opinions, and even assigning reasons for his preference of the higher antiquity which he had been led to adopt.

In the third place, Velleius Paterculus allows only 1070 years as the full duration of the Assyrian empire.† If this term began in the year B.C. 1968, as all the other epochs, according to the hypothesis of Freret, are supposed to have begun, it must have ended in 898; and it is in this very year, says he, that we must place the revolt of

* Herodot. lib. i. c. 101.

† Insequenti tempore imperium *Asiaticum* ab Assyriis, qui id obtinuerant annis MLXX, translatum est ad Medos, abhinc annos ferme DCCLXX. Quippe Sardanapalum eorum regem mollitiis fluentem, et nimium felicem malo suo, tertio et tricesimo loco ab Nino et Semiramide qui Babylona condiderant, natum, ita ut semper successor regni paterni foret filius, Arbaces Medus imperio vitaque privavit.—*Vell. Paterculus*, lib. i. c. 6.

the tributary countries from the Assyrian throne; the taking of Nineveh by Arbaces; and the death of Sardanapalus, the thirty-third king from Ninus. He attempts to illustrate this position as follows.

Justin, the abbreviator of Trogus Pompeius, relates, that the kingdom of the Medes, from Arbaces to Cyrus, continued 350 years.* Julius Africanus limits its duration to 283 years, and Eusebius to 261. The calculation of Velleius would give 338, that is to say, 12 years less than Justin, and 19 less than would result from a computation founded on the length of the reigns as recorded by Herodotus. But at bottom, he adds, this difference is not at all important, because there is no fixed event in this portion of Assyrian chronology by means of which we can determine the relative place of those other events which precede or follow; and because it is probable that some of the authors, mentioned above, have counted from the beginning of the war, and others of them from the end of it. A revolution such as that which happened at Nineveh in the time of Arbaces is an occurrence which must have required a certain space of time, and might perhaps extend through a considerable number of years. We read in Eusebius, and in the compilation of Syncellus, that all chronographers had agreed to place the revolt of Arbaces and the death of Sardanapalus under the administration of Ariphron, the ninth perpetual archon at Athens. Eusebius dates the beginning of Ariphron's government 68 years before the olympiad of Corœbus, that is, in the year 845

* M. Juniani Justini Historiarum ex Trogo Pompeio, lib. i. c. 7. In eo prœlio Astyages capitur: cui Cyrus nihil aliud quam regnum abstulit; nepotemque in illo magis quam victorem egit; eumque maximæ genti Hyrcanorum præposuit. Nam in Medos reverti ipse noluit. Hic finis Medorum imperii fecit. Regnaverunt annos CCCL.

before the vulgar Christian era; Syncellus 75 before the same olympiad, or the year 852; and Julius Africanus places it 122 years before Corœbus, or in the year 899.

According to the chronicle of Paros, as found in the Arundelian marbles, epoch 31, Pherecles, the predecessor of Ariphron, governed at Athens in the year 414 before the passage of Xerxes, or the year 894 before the Christian era. Pherecles, Ariphron, Theispeus, and Agamestor were archons from that year down to the olympiad of Corœbus; which, according to Eusebius and the precise calculation of the Parian chronicle, happened in the first year of the archonate of Æschylus. Thus we have 117 years for the government of these four magistrates. Eusebius, it is true, gives only 87 years, while Syncellus does not reckon it more than 94; but, at all events, M. Freret is convinced that the time of Ariphron, or the epoch of the revolt under Arbaces, could not be far distant from the year 898, in which it falls by the calculation of Velleius.

Ctesias, Castor, and Velleius Paterculus are of one mind in beginning the Assyrian empire with the reign of Ninus; and if they differ as to the duration which they respectively assign to that monarchy; if Ctesias gives 1360 years, Castor 1280, and Velleius only 1070; this discrepancy must arise from the circumstance, that they do not end their catalogue of reigns with the same prince; or, in other words, they do not agree in regard to the particular revolution which terminated the imperial authority in the hands of the Assyrians. Ctesias counted forty kings, as appears by the canon of Julius Africanus; Castor reckoned thirty-six; and Eusebius, who professes to follow Castor, gave the same number. Velleius confines the list to thirty-three; hence it is manifest that, though they all end the list of Assyrian kings with a prince named Sarda-

napalus, they give this appellation to at least two different princes. The Sardanapalus of Castor could not be the Sardanapalus of Ctesias, because, after the former, it is acknowledged, that there were kings at Nineveh; whereas the death of the latter was followed by the complete subversion of the empire, the destruction of the city, and the dispersion of the inhabitants over Media and Mesopotamia.*

The conclusion of the argument I prefer to give in the author's own words: Quand même l'existence de ces trois Sardanapales ne seroit pas etablie sur les preuves que je vais rapporter, c'est un moyen si aisé de concilier des anciens chronologistes, et ces trois princes de même nom sont une consequence si naturelle des trois differens calculs, que je ne puis concevoir comment les critiques qui ont entérpris d'eclaircir l'histoire d'Assyrie, n'ont pas eu recours a cette hypothese qui accorde tout. Elle est infiniment plus simple que celle qu'ils ont fait des deux empires Assyriens consecutifs, le premier ayant duré pendant un tems considerable; mais qu'ils allongent ou qu'ils accourcissent selon que leur systême le demande. Ils n'ont en cette occasion aucun egard pour les temoignages des

* It does not appear that Ctesias himself introduced forty kings into the list of Assyrian successions from Ninus to Sardanapalus. This addition appears either to have been the work of Africanus or Syncellus; who, finding the names of four or five princes who belonged to the third dynasty of Babylonians before the days of Ninus, and not being aware that a third race of sovereigns had succeeded the Arabians at Babylon prior to the rise of the Assyrian monarchy, they contrived to insert them into the catalogue furnished by Ctesias of sovereigns who had reigned at Nineveh. It is remarkable, that the names of the additional kings, as given by Africanus and Syncellus, are precisely the names of those who, according to Abydenus and Maribas, succeeded Belus, the head of the third dynasty at Babylon, many years before Ninus was born. This, I need not add, is one of the instances where the correction of an error not only establishes truth in the particular case to which it is applied, but also confirms the veracity of the historian in other parts of his narrative.

Anciens, dont, suivant leur methode ordinaire, ils recoivent une partie, tandis qu'ils rejettent l'autre, sans penser que ces temoignages ne peuvent etre devisés sans etre detruits. Ils font commencer le second empire par un Ninus de même que le premier, et font aussi finir l'un et l'autre par un Sardanapale, mais sans rapporter aucunes des preuves que nous fournit l'antiquité, qu'il y a eu pleusieurs des rois d'Assyrie ausquels on a donné ce nom.*

We cannot at present follow the ingenious author in his proofs for the existence of three Assyrian kings who bore the common name of Sardanapalus. That there were at least two princes of the house of Ninus who are known to history under this appellation cannot be doubted; while there is equal reason to believe that several of the chronological inaccuracies which continue to perplex the readers of Herodotus, Diodorus, Justin, and Paterculus, may be justly referred to this extension of a term, which was perhaps, after all, more applicable to official station, than to the person of any individual sovereign. It is enough for the object now more especially under our consideration, that we note the general results of M. Freret's computation; namely, that in the years B. C. 608, 688, and 898 certain events took place in the Assyrian government, which so much weakened its power among the vassal and tributary nations, as to induce different historians to fix upon those several periods as the termination of its paramount or imperial dominion. Velleius, according to this hypothesis, must have thought that the Assyrian empire ceased to exist about the year 898; Castor in the year 688; and Ctesias in the year 608, before the revelation of Christianity: and it will be found, that, if these numbers are added

* Histoire de l'Academie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, vol. v. p. 375.

to 1070, 1280, and 1360 respectively, the common sum in all the three cases will amount to 1968; the point on which M. Freret has fixed for the beginning of the reign of Ninus.

So far there is a remarkable appearance of consistency and truth in the speculations of the learned Frenchman. It is, moreover, worthy of remark, that the period determined by him for the reign of Ninus falls within the age of the patriarch Abraham; and it is well known that the ancient chronographers were nearly unanimous in their opinion that the son of Terah and the successor of Belus at Nineveh were contemporaries. According to the genealogical tables of the Septuagint, Abraham was born 1072 years after the Flood; and as his life extended to 175 years, he died in the year 1247 of the same era; that is, in the year of the world 3503, and before the birth of Christ 1938.* As Ninus ascended the throne in B. C. 1968, he must have spent thirty years in the days of the patriarch; and as the term of his government is usually reckoned at 52 years, it follows that he did not live more than two and twenty after the decease of the father of believers.

Thus we find that the conditions of the problem correspond very well with the facts which it was meant to explain. But it may be said that, when we look more narrowly into the historical works whence the materials of the hypothesis are extracted, we discover certain particulars mentioned by their authors, the import of which has not been sufficiently weighed by this modern chronologer. For example, Velleius Paterculus states, not only that the Assyrian empire had lasted 1070 years from Ninus to Sardanapalus, but also that the revolt of Arbaces, and the change of

* Genesis xxv. 7.

dynasty which, as he supposed, immediately followed, took place about 770 years before his own time; *ubhinc annos ferme* DCCLXX.* Velleius, as he himself informs us, wrote in the consulship of Vinicius, about the thirty-second year of the Christian era; whence the conclusion is obvious, that, agreeably to the views of this historian, Sardanapalus must have been dethroned 738 years before that era commenced. It is in vain to allege that the text has been vitiated; for as there is no variety in the reading of the passage, and as no other dates are mentioned upon which an alteration of it might be supported, no chronographer can be allowed to introduce a hypothetical emendation merely to suit the exigencies of his system.

No one can have read the short history of Velleius without anticipating the objection which has just been stated; and it must be acknowledged that no degree of ingenuity can entirely remove the obstacle which it presents to a full and unreserved adoption of the chronological scheme with which it is here connected. M. Freret, indeed, exerts himself with considerable success to weaken, at least, the force of the argument which he was aware might be urged against his theory, from the above observation on the part of the Roman annalist. He insists on the great probability that Paterculus gave an earlier date to the revolt of Arbaces, because in his narrative he places it before other occurrences which are known to have come to pass at a remoter period than B.C. 738. It is not likely, for instance, that Velleius, in a chronological list, would relate an event of the year 770, before he mentioned the foundation of Carthage, which, according to him, took place in 867; or before the establishment of the Olympic games by Iphitus,

* Vell. Pater. Hist. lib. i. c. 6.

in 833; or before the administration of Lycurgus, the settlement of Caranus in Macedonia, the foundation of Capua, and the publication of Hesiod's poems, all of which occurred about 830. Even the first olympiad of Corœbus in 804, and the building of Rome in 782, which, in point of time, stand before the date assigned to the revolt of Arbaces, are by Velleius recorded in a later part of his narrative. The epoch which he mentions immediately before the subversion of the Assyrian empire is the age of Homer, in 950; and the event which, in the chronological canon, follows next after the notice respecting that monarchy, is the foundation of Carthage in 867; hence M. Freret suggests that the revolt of Arbaces probably took place between these two points, and that it was originally so recorded by the Roman historian.*

No one will deny that there is much show of reason in these observations. If Velleius did not intend to set at defiance all the ordinary rules of composition, we cannot but suppose that, in an outline of ancient history, he must have arranged the events which he records in strict chronological order. We should do very little justice, indeed, to his skill as an author, were we to believe that, immediately after narrating an event belonging to the year 950 before the consulship of Vinicius, he proceeded to describe an occurrence which fell out in the year 770, and then returned to relate an incident under the year 867.†

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* All the above dates bear a reference to the consulship of Vinicius; wherefore, to reduce them to the Christian era, it will be necessary in every case to subtract 30 or 32.

† The words of Velleius are these: *Hic* (Homerus) longius a temporibus belli, quod composuit, Troici, quam quidam rentur, abfuit. Nam ferme ante annos DCCCCL floruit, intra mille natus est. Quo nomine non est mirandum quod sæpe illud usurpat, ἐπὶ τῶν βροτοὶ ἦσι. *Insequenti tempore*, imperium Asiaticum ab Assyriis qui id obtinuerant annis MLXX, translatum est ad Medos, abhinc annos ferme DCCLXX. Ea ætate clarissimus Graii

It may, indeed, be urged in reply, that the ancient historians paid less regard than the moderns to chronological accuracy and the advantages of a lucid arrangement. But we find that Velleius Paterculus, in the passage which is here quoted from his work, does, in all the other things which he mentions, adhere rigidly to the sequence of events. For example, he refers to the legislature of Lycurgus before he alludes to the foundation of Carthage, and we know that the latter was several years more recent than the former.*

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nominis Lycurgus Lacedæmonius, vir generis regii, &c. Hoc tractu temporum, ante annos quinque et sexaginta quam urbs Romana conderetur, ab Elissa Tyria, quam quidam Dido autumant, Carthago conditur. Circa quod tempus Caranus sextus decimus ab Hercule, profectus Argis, regnum Macedoniæ occupavit. Hujus temporibus æqualis Hesiodus fuit, circa CXX annos distinctus ab Homeri ætate, Quidam, hujus temporis tractu, aiunt a Tuscis Capuam, Nolamque conditam, ante annos fere DCCCXX.—*Hist.* lib. i. c. 5, 6.

On this quotation, Freret remarks: "La date qui est marquée par Velleius pour la fin des 1070 ans de l'empire des Assyriens sur la haute Asie, et pour le temps de la revolte des Medes sous Pharnaces (Arbaces) me paroit fautive; car elle est posterieure aux sept dates qui sont données ensuite. Il n'est pas vraisemblable que Velleius dans un canon chronologique, eut rapporté un evenement de l'année 770 avant d'autres evenements qui etoient anterieurs a cette année, sçavoir, la fondation de Carthage.—*Hist. de l'Acad. Royale*, vol. v. p. 369.

* Lycurgus and Iphitus, who were contemporaries, are commonly supposed to have instituted the Olympic games 108 years before the period to which the Olympiads could be regularly traced. This was 776 before Christ, when Coræbus won in the foot-race. The era of Lycurgus, therefore, according to this rough computation, is 884.—See *Gillies' Greece*, vol. i. p. 115. Edit. 1820.—"Lycurgus, the celebrated lawgiver of Sparta, flourished, according to the most judicious modern chronologers, about 898 years before the Christian era."—*Biog. Dict.* vol. xxi. p. 3.

I have taken some pains to determine the time when Lycurgus flourished, because M. Freret, who brings it down to 800 years B. C., materially weakens his own argument, so far as it depends upon the chronological accuracy of Velleius, by making that author introduce a *later* event before a more remote one, in his retrospect of ancient history. The Roman annalist introduces the administration of Lycurgus before the foundation of Carthage; in which arrangement he is perfectly correct: whereas M. Freret, contrary to the opinions of the most judicious modern chronologers, as Mr Chalmers describes them, represents the foundation of Carthage as more ancient than

For these reasons I am satisfied that Sir W. Drummond has not paid to the chronological scheme of M. Freret the full attention to which it is entitled. He declares that he cannot understand it; and even that the views which it embraces do not appear to be of any importance. He makes no allowance for the various reading which gives 1905 instead of 1995; and as to Æmilius Sura himself, the author cited by Velleius Paterculus, he hardly condescends to recognize his existence. "Who was Æmilius Sura? It is more than suspected that the passage in question is an interpolation; and even if it were not, nothing can be obtained from it. An author, whose name occurs nowhere but in the 21st page of Velleius Paterculus, tells us that the Assyrians, Medes, Persians, and Macedonians, had been the masters of Asia during 1995 years, *until that country was conquered by the Romans.* The witness is unknown and the evidence is vague. I can attach no value to the testimony of Æmilius Sura!"*

The opinions of critics, in respect to the authenticity of the passage in question, have, no doubt, been very various, and upon the whole, perhaps, not very favourable to the conclusions of Freret. But the obscurity of an author, considered by itself, is assuredly no good ground for rejecting his testimony, or for pronouncing it a fiction; and, moreover, in a philological inquiry, where we find such scholars as Scaliger, Vossius, and Boxhorn, satisfied with the integrity of the text and the fidelity of the reference, we must not be hasty in coming to an opposite decision.†

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the days of the Spartan lawgiver. He dates the labours of Dido in B. C. 837, while he places those of Lycurgus in the year B. C. 884.

* Origines, vol. i. p. 243.

† In my copy of Velleius Paterculus (Argentorati 1811,) containing the Annotations of Ruhnkenius and Krausius, there is the following remark on

The three epochs comprehended in the hypothesis of Freret proceed, as I have already remarked, on the supposition that there occurred, in the history of the Assyrian monarchy, three great political events, which made such an impression on the power of the state, as well as on the dynasty of her ancient sovereigns, as appeared, in the eyes of certain chronographers, to be equivalent to a complete dissolution of the empire. That such events did take place at different times, is rendered manifest by the several eras assigned by historians, for the termination of the paramount dominion which was founded in Asia during the reign of Ninus. The *imperial* government, it is well known, ceased many years before the final extinction of the *monarchy* which was effected by the victories of Cyaxares; and hence, as there was great room for a difference of opinion as to the exact period when the court of Nineveh could no longer command the obedience of her vassal and tributary subjects, we ought not to be surprised that chronologers are not of one mind, in regard to the date of the particular insurrection by which that change was most fully accomplished.

The same uncertainty extends to the names of the kings in whose reigns the crown of Assyria was successively deprived of its lustre; for as the decline of her political authority appears to have been gradual, and to have

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the quotation from Sura:—"Quæ ab aliena manu in Velleii contextum venisse, nemo fuit inter eruditos qui dubitaret, præter Scaligerum, Vossium, et Boxhornium; nisi quod nonnulli ultima verba *Inter hoc tempus*, &c. perperam Velleio tribuerunt. Jam Rhenanus, teste Boeclero, ea uncis inclusit; Acidalius vero e textu suo ejecit. Neque Æmilium Suram quisquam novit. Manilium Suram laudat Plinius Hist. Nat. lib. i. inter auctores unde profecit, p. 211.

The author referred to by Pliny is, in the Basle edition of 1549, written *Manlius Sura*, not Manilius; but, considering the numerous errors attributable to the carelessness of copiers, it is not improbable that the three names may be given to one and the same writer.

been brought about by the repeated efforts of the conquered states to recover their independence, the name of one unfortunate prince seems to have attached to the evil destiny of another. That there were more than one who bore the appellation of Sardanapalus, admits not of any doubt: and Callisthenes, in his history of Persia, acknowledges that there were two; the one courageous and active, the other soft and effeminate.* Clitarchus, again, in his biography of Alexander, relates that Sardanapalus, after having been expelled from his throne, died of old age,—a description which does not apply to the Sardanapalus of whom Ctesias and Diodorus write, since the latter perished in the conflagration of his palace.† Even the tombs, it is thought, of these two monarchs have been discovered in different parts of Asia; one in Cilicia, not far from Anchialé and Tarsus, cities which the unhappy tyrant boasted he had built in one day; another, if any reliance may be placed on tradition, near the gates of Nineveh, which its feeble and effeminate master was not able to defend. But we cannot pursue this argument to any greater length. The reader, who is desirous to see all that can be said in support of an hypothesis which has been maintained with much ability, and assailed with not less wit and learning, will find his labour amply remunerated in the pages of M. Freret.

Before we proceed to the more diffuse and elaborate reasoning of Hales, I shall state in a few words the opinions of Sir W. Drummond and of Mr Faber, relative to the duration of the Assyrian empire.

The former computes that, from the reign of Belus to the birth of Christ, there passed 1923 years; but as he

* Lib. ii. Persicorum, apud Suidam, voc. Σαρδαναπαλος.

† Lib. iv. apud Athenæum, c. 7.

assigns 72 years to the administration of that prince, the interval which elapsed between the accession of Ninus, and the supposed capture of Nineveh by Arbaces, amounts to 1104 years. This period, if divided into 33 reigns, will give on the average thirty-three years and six months to each,—a result which accords very well with the usual estimates of human life, when measured by successions from father to son. "I cannot," says he, "consent to exclude the reign of Belus in estimating the duration of the Assyrian empire. It remains, however, for the reader to decide for himself what may have been the length of the period which elapsed from the epoch when this monarch mounted the throne, to the death of Sardanapalus."*

Mr Faber, as has been observed in a former section, rejects the ancient Babylonian monarchy, which is supposed to have existed before the era of Ninus; carrying back the commencement of the proper Assyrian empire to the days of Nimrod, who laid the first foundation of it at Babel. He adds, of course, to the thirty-six kings which are found in the dynasty of Ctesias, the seven princes mentioned by Polyhistor as belonging to the oldest race of Babylonian rulers; and who, according to this writer, occupied the government during the space of 190 years. Proceeding still farther on the ground supplied by the physician of Artaxerxes, and, assuming the accuracy of the period assigned to the long line of Ninevite sovereigns, he comes to the conclusion, that 1495 years, the sum of the two numbers 190 and 1305, composed the total duration of the Assyrian empire from Nimrod to Thonos Concolerus.†

* Origines, vol. i. p. 284.

† "If we add together 190 years, or the length of the earliest Iranian dynasty, and 1305, or the length of the second Iranian dynasty, we shall have the gross sum of 1495 years for the entire duration of the great Iranian empire, from its foundation by Nimrod, to its dissolution under Thonos Con-

I take no notice at present of Mr Faber's hypothesis, by means of which he contrives to identify the Scythian, the Iranian, and the Assyrian empires; or rather, I should say, to apply these three epithets to one and the same ancient monarchy. Whether he has not founded more on a single expression of Justin than the general narrative of that author will bear, must appear extremely doubtful to those who are accustomed to modify their reflections on ancient history by a regard to what is probable, as well as by a critical examination of authentic records.* It is clear, at all events, that he has drawn from the words of the historian a meaning which the latter never entertained, and which, at the same time, is directly at variance as well with the context as with the literal import of the particular terms which he employs. The abbreviator of Trogus Pompeius, there can be no doubt, believed that, prior to the brilliant reign of Ninus over the Assyrians, a Scythic government had existed in Asia during fifteen hundred years; and it is obviously impossible to reconcile the statement of Justin with the lists of Ctesias and the

colerus about the middle of the ninth century before Christ."—*Origin of Pagan Idolatry*, vol. iii. p. 397.

* Justin, in the third chapter of his second book, remarks, that Asia was tributary to the Scythians fifteen hundred years; and that Ninus, the king of the Assyrians, was the first who put an end to the paying of tribute. *His igitur Asia per mille quingentos annos vectigalis fuit. Pendendi tributum finem Ninus Rex Assyriorum imposuit.*

It is perfectly clear that the Ninus mentioned by Justin was the son of Belus and husband of Semiramis, for he informs us that it is the same warrior who subdued all the people of the East, and finally attacked Zoroaster, the magician king of Bactria. (See book i. chapter 1.) *Hoc occiso, et ipse* (Ninus) *decessit, relicto impubere adhuc filio Ninya, et uxore Semiramide.* Mr Faber himself is compelled to acknowledge that "Justin, by mistaking the *third* Ninus for the *second*, assigns to the dynasty founded by the *third* a duration which *truly* belongs to the dynasty founded by the *second*. In other words, he reckons the thirteen centuries *twice* over; and by this error apparently throws back the rise of the Scythian empire to an epoch before the deluge."—*Origin of Pagan Idolatry*, vol. iii. p. 401.

narrative of Diodorus Siculus, without making such alterations in the text of the Roman author as would amount to a full impeachment either of his knowledge or his veracity.

But, returning to the subject more immediately before us, we have to observe, that, as Mr Faber places the dissolution of the Assyrian empire in the year B.C. 830, the beginning of it must be dated in B.C. 2325, that being the sum of 830 and of 1495, the computed duration of the two dynasties mentioned respectively by Polyhistor and by Ctesias. "The era of its commencement," says he, "will be the year A.C. 2325, which coincides, according to the Samaritan chronology, with the year 613 after the deluge; for as Abraham died in the year A.C. 1821, and as Peleg died 477 years earlier, Peleg must have died in the year A.C. 2298; and 27 years, added to 2298, will thus give the year A.C. 2325, for the commencement of the Cuthic empire at Babel. We had," he continues, "previously found, on the authority of the Samaritan chronology, that the Cuthic empire must have commenced somewhere between the years 559 and 640 after the deluge: and we now, lastly, find, in exact accordance with the excellent table of descents exhibited in that chronology, that a calculation deduced from the year A.C. 830, which must have been very nearly the time when the Cuthic empire was dissolved, and conducted through a long period independently ascribed by pagan history to the duration of that empire, brings us to the year 613 after the deluge; which is precisely about the time, in order to make Scripture consistent with itself, that the Cuthic empire of Nimrod must have commenced at Babel, where, we are told, it *did* commence, in the heart of Iran."*

* Origin of Pagan Idolatry, vol. iii. p. 426.

To find the accession of Ninus we have only to subtract 190 from 2325, and the remainder 2135, reckoning backward from the birth of Christ, will give the year when, according to Mr Faber, the dynasty recorded by Ctesias began to supply sovereigns to the throne of Nineveh. But this result, it is obvious, does not coincide with the opinion of those more ancient authors who inform us that Abraham and Ninus were contemporaries. On the contrary, it carries back the era of the first Assyrian monarch nearly 300 years farther than that of the patriarch; and thereby creates a difficulty which does not attach to the systems of Freret, Jackson, or of Sir William Drummond. The weight of the objection founded on this circumstance will be taken into consideration afterwards; mean time let us go on to examine the leading principles of the chronological scheme proposed by Dr Hales, for explaining the history and duration of the empire of Assyria.

The industrious author of the New Analysis of Chronology entertained the opinion that Nimrod began to rule in the year B.C. 2554, or 601 after the Flood; and that Babylon was founded in the seventh year of his reign, or in the year B.C. 2547.* The first monarch was succeeded by six others, apparently of the same lineage, whose united reigns amount to 317 years. After this dynasty was exhausted, a long interregnum of about a thousand years succeeded; during which the Assyrian monarchy is understood to have been dissolved, and the dominion of Asia to have passed into the hands of the Persians. "Of Nimrod's immediate successors," says Dr Hales, "history

* The reader may perhaps require to be reminded, that, according to Hales, the first year of the Christian era fell in the year of the world 5411, and 3156 years after the epoch of the Flood.

has preserved no other account than that Abius, the fifth in the series, made a predatory excursion of three bands into the land of Uz, and carried off Job's camels, and slew his servants. This achievement took place in the year B.C. 2237."*

The dissolution of the ancient Assyrian empire is proved, this author imagines, by the war in which Abraham displayed his zeal and courage; "for," says he, "though the king of Shinar is named first in the list on account of the priority of his kingdom, it is evident the king of Elam or Persia was the head of the confederacy; and that, at that date, the sceptre had departed from Assyria to Persia."†

The interregnum which began in the year B.C. 2237 ended in B.C. 1252; when the Assyrian monarchy recommenced with *Mithræus*, the twenty-fifth sovereign in the list of Ctesias. Dr Hales accuses the physician of Cnidus of having fabricated a catalogue of 36 kings, of whom only the last twelve are admitted to have reigned at Nineveh. "The first twenty-four reigns of Ctesias," he asserts, "are not true; for they encroach on the first *Assyrian* interregnum, and the first *Persian* dynasty. The last twelve reigns will be found fully sufficient for the duration of the second *Assyrian* dynasty."‡

The twelve kings, from Mithræus to Thonos Concolerus, occupy a period of 341 years; the entire dynasty ending in the year B.C. 821. The third race of Assyrian princes is that which is made known to us in Holy Scripture; beginning with the king of Nineveh, to whom Jonah was commissioned, and terminating with Serac or Sardana-

* New Analysis of Chronology, vol. iii. p. 22, 23. † Ibid. vol. iii. p. 28. ‡ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 52, 53.

palus, 606 years before the era of human redemption. The catalogue is as follows:—

	B.C.
1. King of Nineveh, (name not recorded)	821
2. Pul or Belus II.,	790
3. Tiglathpileser,	747
4. Shalmanasar,	726
5. Sennacherib,	714
6. Esarhaddon, Asaradin, or Sardanapalus I.	710
7. Ninus III.	667
8. Nabuchodonosor,	658
9. Serac, or Sardanapalus II.	636
Nineveh taken	606

Dr *Hales* draws proof in support of his system from the *facts* and *testimony* which I am now about to copy. In the first place, Herodotus states, "that the *Assyrians* held the sovereignty of all *Upper Asia* not more than 520 years before the defection of the Medes."* But the Medes revolted, says the learned doctor, B.C. 710, and counting backwards from thence 520 years, we get the commencement of the Assyrian dominion B.C. 1230.

2. "Appian says that the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians, successively ruled Asia 900 years. But the Persian empire ended with the death of the last Darius B.C. 330, from which, counting backwards 900 years, we get the commencement of the Assyrian dominion B.C. 1230, as before.

3. "The history also furnishes internal evidence in favour of the shorter account. By a gross blunder, arising

* Book i. c. 95.

from ignorance of Oriental languages, Diodorus and Justin confound נינוה *Ninuah* or Νινυη, 'the city of *Nin*' or Ninus, with his supposed son Ninuas or Ninyas; and his wife Semiramis, with her namesake the wife or mother of Nabonassar, who really walled Babylon, about B.C. 747, as we learn from Herodotus.

4. "Justin confesses that Ninus lived after Sesostris, the famous Egyptian king, whom he calls Vexoris, and after Tanaus, king of Scythia. But Sesostris began to reign B.C. 1308; and in the course of his nine years' expedition, invaded Libya, southwards; Asia, including Assyria, eastwards; and advanced as far as Scythia northwards, and returned home about B.C. 1299, after having been checked, or perhaps defeated, by Tanaus, the sixth king of Scythia, in Pontus.

"The accession, therefore, of the twenty-*fifth* Assyrian king in the list of Ctesias, called Mithræus, B.C. 1252, critically corresponds in time to Ninus the second. For Ninus might have finished his conquests B.C. 1230, according to Herodotus and Appian, in the twenty-second year of his reign according to Ctesias.

"Instead of the second anachronous reign of Semiramis in Diodorus and Justin, here follows the twenty-sixth in Ctesias, namely, Teutamus, who reigned during the Trojan war, till the destruction of Troy B.C. 1183. But, according to Diodorus, he sent the son of Tithonus, then prefect of Persia, Memnon, with an army of 20,000 foot and 200 chariots to the assistance of his vassal Priam in this war; in which Memnon signalized his valour against the Greeks, until he was surprised and slain by the Thessalians, when the Ethiopians rescued his body, and carried his ashes to his father Tithonus.*

* Diodor. Sicul. lib. ii. c. 8.

"Laosthenes, also, the thirty-first in the list, was reigning 165 years after the destruction of Troy, or in B.C. 1018.* But this was actually the thirteenth year of his reign by the table.†

"Such remote and incidental coincidences of sacred and profane history and chronology are highly curious and valuable. They tend strongly to corroborate the validity of the present adjustment by the harmony and consistency of the parts, without altering the original documents, but only omitting such as are proved to be superfluous or unsound.

"Thonos Concolerus, the last in the list of Ctesias, has been injudiciously confounded either with Sarac, the last Sardanapalus, who perished in the overthrow of Nineveh B.C. 606; or else with Esarhaddon, the former Sardanapalus, who began to reign when the Medes revolted B.C. 710. But the end of the reign of Thonos, B.C. 812, (821‡) according to Ctesias, so long before either of these

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* Cyril. cont. Julian, p. 11.

† As this Table may be referred to again, it may prove convenient to have it inserted.

	Years.	B.C.
25. Mithræus or Ninus II.	37	1252
26. Tautanes or Teutamus.	32	1215
27. Teutæus,	44	1183
28. Thinæus,	30	1139
29. Dercylus,	40	1109
30. Eupalis or Eupachmes,	38	1069
31. Laosthenes,	45	1031
32. Pertiades,	30	986
33. Ophratæus,	21	956
34. Epecheres or Ofratanes,	52	935
35. Acraganes or Acrazapes,	42	883
36. Thonos Concolerus,	20	841
End of dynasty		821

‡ Dr Hales's volumes are exceedingly ill printed: the *errata* extend to 24 pages in the smallest letter; and if he had inserted all the necessary corrections, they would have occupied half as many pages more.

princes, cannot possibly agree to either. It does, however, critically correspond to the commencement of the third and last Scripture dynasty; beginning with that king of Nineveh who reigned in the time of the prophecy of Jonah.*

The first remark which suggests itself upon examining this section of Dr Hales's chronological system, respects the apparent caprice of the author in admitting one part of the ancient catalogue of Assyrian kings as authentic, and rejecting the rest as a gross fabrication. The last twelve monarchs, for example, are adopted by him from the list of Ctesias, while the whole twenty-four who precede them are entirely expunged from the record. Nor will the attentive reader be satisfied with the reason upon which he founds this distinction, in as much as the history of Persia, to which he gives the preference, is not less obscure than that of Assyria, and even more perplexed by the ignorance and vanity of her antiquaries.

Sir William Jones, no doubt, learned from intelligent missionaries in India, that a powerful monarchy had been established for ages in Iran before the accession of Cayumers; that it was called the Mahabadean dynasty, and that many princes, and among them Mahabul or Maha-Beli, had raised their empire to the zenith of human glory.† But we know, at the same time, the authority upon which this opinion rests; that, namely, of the Dabistan, the work of a recluse who lived in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Of this singular composition I shall have occasion to speak afterwards; mean time, it may be sufficient to remark, that the facts which it pro-

* New Analysis of Chronology, vol. iii. p. 55, 56, 57.

† Sixth Discourse on the Persians, Works of Sir William Jones, vol. iii. p. 108. 8vo edit.

fesses to embrace, and the chronological assumptions on which the narrative proceeds, appeared to Sir John Malcolm, the latest historian of Persia, so entirely destitute of foundation, as to be viewed in no other light than that of an allegorical fiction.* Besides, if any credit is to be given to the positions which Shaik Mahomed Mohsin endeavours to establish, we must believe that the empire of Iran extended not only over Asia westward of the Indus, but even over all the rich provinces which are situated between that river and the frontiers of China.† It cannot, therefore, be without considerable hesitation that an intelligent reader accedes to the scheme of Dr Hales; who, on such an authority as that now mentioned, transfers the sceptre of western Asia from the Assyrians to the Persians, and thereby opposes himself to the testimony and judgment of the most enlightened portion of antiquity.

It will not be denied, that, as the Assyrians and Persians were under one dynasty of sovereigns, whose lineage and country have not been precisely ascertained, the latter might, without any impropriety, claim to themselves the honour of being the dominant state, and even associate the designation of the general government with the name of their particular country. On this principle, it signifies not greatly whether we assign to that primæval empire the epi-

* History of Persia, vol. i. p. 182. "The extravagant number of years assigned to the dynasties, and the character of the few events that are recorded, make us suspect," says Sir William Jones, "that the historical part of this work is a mere fable, allusive to the early condition of mankind."

† "There appears throughout the whole of this branch of his subject a great desire to connect the ancient history of the Persians and of the Hindoos. The fourteen *Mahabads* are evidently the fourteen *Menus* of the latter nation; and the division which the first of that race made of the inhabitants into four casts, seems to be a transcript, even to the names, of the Hindoo tradition of the first establishment of that celebrated institution in India."—*History of Persia*, as cited above.

thet *Iranian* or *Assyrian*, or whether we even adopt the notion of Mr Faber, and call it *Scuthic* or *Scythian*. But it seems absurd, in the extreme, to maintain that an ancient empire must have been dissolved, merely because we find, in a modern compilation, which does not rise above the rank of a monkish legend, that national vanity has, in a particular instance, sought its usual gratification by connecting its name and power with the history of a royal house.

Nor does this weak argument derive any confirmation from the state of society in the days of Abraham. The victory gained by the patriarch over the predatory bands of the Arabian border, does not destroy the credit due to those early writers, who inform us that a regular government had been already formed on the banks of the Euphrates. Besides, the son of Terah flourished before Ninus had strengthened the foundations of his new empire. He lived at the time when the arms of the Ninevite colonists had just been turned against the successors of Nimrod at Babylon; and when, consequently, the southern tribes must have been considerably reduced in strength—an occasion which, perhaps, was seized by the five kings of Canaan to recover their independence, and relieve their subjects from tribute.

But if the reasoning of Dr Hales respecting the condition of the surrounding countries has any weight at all, it may be turned with full force against his own hypothesis of a revived empire in B. C. 1252, after the interregnum of nearly a thousand years. The brilliant reigns of David and Solomon did not begin till two hundred years posterior to that epoch, when, it might be presumed, the monarchs of Assyria must have attained to a great degree of power; and yet we find that these Hebrew princes pushed their conquests to the very waters of the Euphrates, built

cities in the Syrian desert, and maintained strong posts along the whole line of the Mesopotamian frontier. If there were, in short, during this long and various history of the East, any one period at which, owing to the ascendency of the nations of Palestine, we should be disposed to doubt the existence of a powerful empire in their neighbourhood, it would be the era of David and of his immediate successor on the throne of the twelve tribes. But we are assured, notwithstanding, even by Dr Hales himself, that the arm of Assyria had at that time recovered its strength, extended the sceptre of its dominion over the Medes, Persians, and Babylonians, and, in a word, was at the very zenith of its might and glory as well in upper as in lower Asia!

Were Dr Hales' argument closely followed up in all its consequences, those who adopt his views would find themselves under the necessity of acceding to the conclusion of Newton, Marsham, and Jameson; who maintained that the Assyrian empire did not begin to exist until more than two centuries after the reign of Solomon.* The principal facts upon which these authors support their reasoning

* Vide Newtoni Opuscula, Brevia Chronica, p. 25. "*Pul jacit Imperii Assyrii fundamenta* A.C. 790:" et Chronologia Veter. Regnor. Emendata, c. iii. p. 186. D. Johan. Marshami "Canon Chronicus," lib. iv. secul. xvii. p. 503, &c. "Spicilegia Antiq. Ægypti," cap. iv. p. 76. Auctore Gul. Jameson. 1720. To this author, who was professor of History in the University of Glasgow, and who, I believe, had the misfortune to be blind, Duker, the celebrated editor of the "Origines" of Perizonius, alludes in the following terms:—"Deinde, partim eorum, quæ de quibusdam capitibus adversus illum disputata in notitiam meam venerant, addenda putavi; in primis ea, quibus sententiam illius de Esarhaddone, Sennacheribi filio, et occupata ab eo Babylone, deque Sesostri ac Sesaco, *in Spicilegio Antiquitatum Ægypti et vicinarum Gentium*, stilo interdum satis horrido, et acerbioribus, quam res postulabat, verbis, impugnavit Gulielmus Jameson," &c. &c.—*Dukeri Præfatio, sub init.*

Whatever may be thought of Jameson's arguments, there can be but one opinion as to his style and his temper; both of which appear to have been abundantly rough and repulsive.

are, first, the facility with which the Israelites made conquests in Syria and Mesopotamia; and, secondly, the entire silence of Scripture, until about eight hundred years before Christ, in respect to any powerful kingdom beyond the Euphrates. I repeat, therefore, if the ground assumed by Dr Hales, in order to prove that the ancient Assyrian empire must have been dissolved before the time of Abraham, be tenable for that particular end, it will assuredly support objections of a more formidable nature; and, if used by a skilful antagonist, will supply materials for overthrowing even the most popular of our chronological systems, and his own among the first.

I shall not fatigue the patience of the reader by entering into a minute examination of the abbreviated schemes of Marsham and Newton. They are made to rest chiefly on the circumstances which have just been specified, and are supported by the testimony of Herodotus, Appianus Alexandrinus, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. The first of these writers states, that the Assyrians had possessed upper Asia 520 years before the revolt of the Medes. According to the same author, the kingdom of Media subsisted 150 years; the termination of which was marked by the accession of Cyrus in B. C. 560. Add these three sums together, 520+150+560, and the commencement of the Assyrian empire will be found to coincide with the year B. C. 1230.

The testimony of Appian of Alexandria seems to repose on the same foundation and authority. The times of the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians, the three greatest empires, are, says he, when added together, and brought down to Alexander, the son of Philip, little removed from nine hundred years.* Now, if to B. C. 330, the date when the

* Ασσυριων τε, και Μηδων, και Περσων, τριων των δι μεγιστων ηγεμονιων, εις

Macedonian prince conquered Darius, we annex 900, the period assigned by Appian to the three monarchies, the joint sum will amount, as before, to 1230, denoting the commencement of the Assyrian power in Asia.

But Marsham, who was perfectly well acquainted with the numbers of Herodotus and Appianus, saw no evidence in either upon which to rest his belief that the Assyrian empire began so early. Neque in historia sacra, neque Ægyptiorum monumentis reperitur ulla *Assyriorum* memoria antequam desiisset in Asia *Ægyptiorum* imperium. Postea, anno Templi 232, primus in Ciseuphratensibus regionibus inclaruit *Phul rex Assyriorum*; qui mercede conductus, confirmavit Menahem in regno Israelis.*

Newton, again, carries up the origin of the Assyrian monarchy to the year B.C. 790, in which, he says, the foundations of that state were laid by Pul,—an opinion which was previously maintained by the Glasgow Professor, whose little volume, although published seven years before the death of the illustrious mathematician, it is very probable he never saw.

But, without collecting to any greater extent the opinions of others, on a subject where learning and research, in modern times, have only produced an increased degree of discrepancy in the judgments which are actually formed, and a diminished confidence in the sources whence all our information must be derived, I shall proceed to compare the results which seem the most firmly established by ancient authorities, and thereby endeavour to reconcile, in the testimony of the several Greek and Latin writers, those points in which they are supposed to exhibit the greatest variation.

Αλεξανδρον τον Φιλιππου, συντιθεμενων, ουτ' αν χρονος ἐφικοιτο των ἐνακοσιων ἐτων. —*Appian. Alexandrin. Hist. Proœm. p. 5.*

* Canon Chronicus, p. 509. The 232d year of the temple corresponds to B.C. 747.

In all cases, then, where there is any uncertainty respecting the first principles on which an investigation is to be conducted, it will be found convenient to fix on some matter of fact, of which the date and circumstances are clearly ascertained. Having secured sufficient ground whereon to establish a distinct proposition, we can advance analytically from the known to the unknown; and whatever may be our success in reaching the object we have in view, we shall at least be able to determine the point where certainty leaves us and doubt begins, where light departs and darkness or obscurity succeeds it.

Applying this maxim to the inquiry before us, we may with confidence commence our researches at the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, when the monarchy of the Medes merged in the rising empire of the Persians. All authors are agreed that the event now mentioned took place in the beginning or end of the year B. C. 536; whence, if we reckon backward, so as to include the term of the Median kingdom and the duration of the Assyrian empire, up to the true epoch when the former became independent, we shall, in all probability, determine the period at which the latter assumed its origin.

Herodotus, then, informs us, that, after the Assyrians had been in possession of upper Asia five hundred and twenty years, the Medes, first of all, revolted from their authority: contending with such obstinate bravery against their masters, that they were ultimately successful, and exchanged servitude for freedom. Other provinces soon followed their example; but as they all afterwards fell into a state of anarchy, and suffered many of the severest evils that arise from the absence of legitimate rule, they at length came to the resolution of electing a king. The wisdom and virtue of Dejoces, a man of influence among the Medes, pointed him out for this high office; who, as

soon as he had complied with the request of his countrymen to become their sovereign, assumed the full state and prerogatives of a monarch, built a magnificent palace, and surrounded himself with guards.*

After a reign of 53 years on the throne of Media, he was succeeded by his son Phraortes, who held the sceptre 22 years. Next followed Cyaxares, the period of whose government, including the domination of his Scythian conquerors, extended to 40 years; and Astyages, the last of the race, in whose time, after he had reigned 35 years, the Persian dynasty laid hold of the supreme power of Asia. The sum of these four reigns amounts to 150 exactly; which, added to B.C. 560, the date which Herodotus appears to have assigned to the Babylonian conquest, gives, for the accession of Dejoces, the year B. C. 710.†

So far the narrative of Herodotus, although different from that of Ctesias, is not inconsistent with it. The latter historian, it is true, carries back the origin of the Median kingdom more than a hundred years beyond the period determined by the former. Again, instead of four sovereigns, he exhibits a catalogue of nine; beginning with Arbaces, whom he describes as the leader of the revolt, and ending with Astyages, whose reign is unanimously regarded as the termination of Median power.‡ Thus

* Herodot. lib. i. 95—100. † Herodot. lib. i. c. 130.

‡ The Median kings who, according to Ctesias, succeeded Thonos Concolerus on the throne of Assyria, are as follows:—

	Years.	B.C.
1. Arbaces,	28 beginning	821
2. Mandauces,	20 ———	793
3. Sosarmus,	30 ———	773
4. Artycas,	30 ———	743
5. Arbianes,	22 ———	713
6. Artæus,	40 ———	691
7. Artynes,	22 ———	651
8. Astibaras,	40 ———	629
9. Aspadas, or Astyigas,	35 ———	589

we have two points fixed upon by two ancient authors, both of whom, in this particular at least, appear worthy of unbounded credit, at which has been dated that revolt of the Medes which was supposed to put an end to the paramount authority of the Assyrian empire.

Jackson endeavours to liberate his system from the difficulty now mentioned, by suggesting, as I have already mentioned, that Ctesias has confounded, in the case of the first five sovereigns on his list, the office of prefect with that of king. "It is certain," says he, "that Arbaces the Mede, and his successors to Dejoces, whom Ctesias mentions as reigning over the greatest part of the Assyrian empire after Sardanapalus, were only prefects under the kings of Assyria who preceded Thonos Concolerus, called falsely Sardanapalus; and the Assyrian empire still subsisted, and had both Media and Babylon under it, till the revolt of the Medes under the last prefect Arbianes, some years before they chose Dejoces for their king."*

"This account," he adds, "is entirely agreeable to Herodotus, who knew of no Median king before Dejoces; but he knew there were kings of Assyria, both when he reigned in Media and many years after: and of this truth we are assured from Scripture, which relates the historical actions of those Assyrian kings; and some of whose names are recorded. Sennacherib, one of the Assyrian kings, reigned at Nineveh several years before Dejoces was made king of Media, and above a hundred years after the

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"The sum total of the duration of the Median empire, to the end of the reign of Astyages, is 267 years, in the year B.C. 554; and this wants only four years of the true account of the era from Arbaces to Cyrus's conquest of Astyages."—*Jackson*, vol. i. p. 253, 254.

The sum 267 *exceeds* by six years the usual amount: 560+267=827: the real interval at least, according to Herodotus, being 821 years.

* Chronological Antiquities, vol. i. p. 255, 256.

time that Ctesias supposed Nineveh and the Assyrian empire to have been destroyed by Arbaces: this Assyrian king is mentioned by Herodotus,* and by Berosus, as Josephus tells us.† Herodotus also relates that Phraortes, the second king of the Medes, was slain in a battle with the Assyrians who reigned at Nineveh: and that Cyaxares, the last king of the Medes but one, was the king who conquered Nineveh and destroyed the Assyrian empire.‡

It has been usual with chronologers, as Freret somewhere observes, to receive as much of a historical narrative or list of kings as they find convenient, and to reject the remainder merely because it does not agree with their hypothesis. No reader, it is obvious, can have any confidence in a system which requires such management; on which account, our usual trust in Jackson is greatly impaired, when we find that he not only brings down the Assyrian dynasty given by Ctesias a hundred and eleven years lower than the date which the compiler himself assigns to it, but also that he excludes from his catalogue a race of Median kings which, the same historian assures us, succeeded, on the throne of Nineveh, the last monarch of the ancient house of Ninus.

To reconcile the statements of Ctesias and Herodotus, both of which bear evident marks of sincerity and truth, we have only to admit that the sovereigns who reigned at Nineveh from B. C. 821 to B. C. 606 were of *Median extraction*, though, from the seat of their government and the established name of the people over whom they ruled, they continued to be described as *kings of Assyria*. This explanation of the tables constructed by the Greek phy-

* Herodot. lib. ii. c. 141.
† Antiq. Jud. lib. x. c. i.
‡ Chronological Antiquities, vol. i. p. 256.

sician does not imply that Media became an independent kingdom upon the accession of Arbaces, or whatever else was the name of the Median prefect who took up the sceptre which was laid down by Thonos Concolerus; it amounts to nothing more than that a race of monarchs, who were Medes by birth or lineage, occupied, during more than two hundred years, the throne of Assyria and the city of Nineveh."

If I be right in this conjecture, it will follow that the four monarchs who, in Scripture, are called the "King of Nineveh," Pul, Tiglathpileser, and Shalmaneser, and who, by Ctesias, are denominated Arbaces, Mandauces, Sosarmus, and Artycas, are respectively the same persons; and that they were, in fact, Assyrian kings who had sprung from a Median family. As yet, Assyria, Babylonia, and Media, were under the same crown; and it was not until the year B. C. 711 that the people of the last-named country, who were dissatisfied with the imperial government, revolted from its authority, and made preparations for the establishment of an independent sovereignty in their own land. After a certain period of anarchy Dejoces was elected king; and at this point commences the Median kingdom, properly so called.

According to the views which we are now following, there were sovereigns of Median extraction on the throne of Ecbatana as well as on that of Nineveh; and, perhaps, we ought to regard the list of kings transmitted by Ctesias as applicable to the several successions in the latter city only. Artycas, for instance, was followed by Arbianes, after whom came Artæus, Artynes, Astibarus, and Aspadas. I am aware that modern writers take upon them to assert that Artæus is only a different name for Dejoces, that Artynes is the same as Phraortes, as well as that Astibarus means Cyaxares, and Aspadas is the substitute of Astyages. But

all this is said without the slightest shadow of proof; and we have the greater reason to believe that Ctesias meant to exhibit the catalogue of sovereigns who exercised the Assyrian government, when we find that the sum of their reigns exactly fills up the space which intervenes between the time of Thonos Concolerus, when the new dynasty began to rule, and the end of the Median government in the days of Cyrus. From the year B. C. 821 to B. C. 560, the usual, though perhaps not the most correct date of the Persian ascendency, is a period of 261 years; and the amount of all the reigns from Arbaces to the last king mentioned by Ctesias is 267; the difference being only 6 years, the length of a supposed anarchy or interregnum occasioned by a provincial insurrection.*

It would appear, therefore, that, in the archives which were copied by Ctesias, there was enrolled a list of all the sovereigns who had swayed the imperial sceptre of Western Asia, from the reign of Ninus down to the conquests of Cyrus; including the old Assyrian dynasty, as well as that of the Medes which followed it, after the death or removal of Thonos Concolerus. But we have no reason to believe that a similar list had been preserved at Nineveh of the Median kings who, after they achieved their independence, opposed themselves to the more ancient government founded by the son of Belus: and it is on this very account, perhaps, that even when the sovereign of Media proper, in the person of Cyaxares, obtained possession of the imperial authority, no notice is taken of any interruption in that branch of the dynasty which ended with Serac or Sardanapalus. The catalogue is, at once, continued down to the era when the successors of Arbaces gave way to the rising

* See page 95 of this volume.

fortunes of the Persian prince. In a word, the records to which Ctesias had access, presented only the successions in what may be called the imperial line of the Asiatic monarchy, and did not extend to such rulers as from time to time started up in the provinces and disputed the supremacy of the great king.

That there was a new race of sovereigns elevated to the throne of Assyria in the year B. C. 821, is so fully admitted by the best informed chronologers, that Dr Hales begins at that era his third Assyrian dynasty; which, says he, commenced with that king of Nineveh who reigned in the time of the prophecy of Jonah.* Nor will any valid objection to this view be founded on the circumstance that the monarchs who succeeded Arbaces are called kings of Assyria, and not kings of Media; for although the new dynasty were Medes by birth or connection, they ascended the throne of Nineveh, the capital of the Assyrian empire, of which Media was only a province. Syncellus, in allusion to this apparent discrepancy between the facts of history and the appellation of the paramount state, remarks, that, though it is perfectly certain the Medes held the imperial government after the time of Arbaces, yet the kingdom retained its former designation; as well, says he, from the antiquity and power of the Assyrian name which had become associated with the country, as from the recent power of the Medes, who, till then, were known only as provincials.† He farther observes, as a proof that the kings of Assyria were masters also of the Median territory, that the captives carried away by Shalmaneser from the tribes of Israel were placed in the towns of the

* Hales, vol. iii. p. 57.

† Ἡ δηλονοτι Μηδων μεν γενος κατα διαδοχην ἀπο Αρβακου ἐβασιλευσεν, ἡ δε βασιλεια και Ασσυριων ἐλεγετο, δια το ευγενες παλαιον της ἀρχης και το της χωρας ὀνομα, και Μηδων δια το ὀψιμον της ἐξουσιας, και την χωραν Μηδειαν λεγομενην.

Medes; whence it is obvious, that the accession of the countrymen of Arbaces to the imperial throne did not at the first lead to any dismemberment of the empire, but that, on the contrary, the name and power of Assyria continued unchanged till a much later period.

If there be any foundation for the distinction which I am now endeavouring to establish between a Median dynasty on the imperial throne, who were called *kings of Assyria*, and a Median dynasty beginning about a hundred and twenty years after in the person of Dejoces, who were strictly *kings of Media*, or who, at least, did not acknowledge the paramount claims of the older race, we shall thereby be enabled, not only to reconcile Herodotus and Ctesias, but to remove much confusion, contradiction, and obscurity which have hitherto attached to the history of Western Asia. We shall, in particular, find reason to be satisfied that, while the chronographer of Cnidus exhibited only a list of the sovereigns who had followed in succession from Ninus to the last member of the imperial race whose name was Aspadas or Astyages, the father of history, on the other hand, confined his Median catalogue to the rulers who kept up, at Ecbatana or elsewhere, the independent kingdom which was founded by Dejoces. In short, Ctesias does not appear to have recognised the Median sovereignty at all, as distinct from the Assyrian empire; for his list of the kings who succeeded Arbaces the Mede extends downwards from B. C. 821 to B. C. 554, the era at which both Medes and Assyrians submitted to the arms of Cyrus. The archives which he consulted contained lists of only the sovereigns paramount; whereas the authorities upon which Herodotus appears to have proceeded, in his account of Media, furnished only records of the local or national kings.

Hence, too, we shall likewise find it in our power to

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trace satisfactorily the ground of the difference among ancient writers respecting the duration of the Median kingdom. Justin, as has been already remarked, reckoning from Arbaces to Cyrus, assigns to it a period of 350 years, Julius Africanus gives 283, Eusebius 261, and Herodotus 150. Now it is manifest that the last-named historian counted from the election of Dejoces, which took place a few years after the revolt B. C. 710. Suppose the anarchy which preceded his accession continued six years, and it will follow that the commencement of Median royalty must be dated B. C. 704; from which, if we subtract 150 years, the termination will be found to coincide with the year B. C. 554; that is, within four years of the time when, according to Jackson and Hales, Cyrus succeeded his uncle Cyaxares in the government of Media. Or, if we should prefer to date the origin of kingly power among the Medes in the very year of their revolt, 150 subtracted from 710 will give 560,—a result which corresponds exactly with the first year of Cyrus in his native Persia.

The larger numbers of Africanus and Eusebius apply, it is obvious, to the accession of the Median dynasty to the Assyrian throne in the time of Arbaces; in which sense the phrase *Median kingdom* does not denote the separate independent monarchy established by Dejoces, but the Assyrian empire during the period it was governed by kings of Median extraction. In this case we must begin the era in question with the reign of the first Mede B. C. 821; from which epoch, if we subtract 283, the full duration assigned by Africanus to the sway of that people, the end of their power will fall in the year B. C. 538; being not more than two years before the taking of Babylon, when, it is well known, the Persian empire finally superseded the Median throughout the whole of the ancient Assyrian dominions. If, again, from 821 we subtract 261,

the term of Median rule fixed on by Eusebius, the remainder will exhibit the year B. C. 560; when, as has been already stated, the great Cyrus mounted the throne of Persia.*

The reader cannot fail to be struck with the remarkable coincidence and harmony which are introduced into the numerical statements of ancient authors, by means of the distinction which I have attempted to establish, between the Median dynasty on the throne of Assyria, and the separate kingdom of Media which arose at a later period. Upon the same principle we get rid of the awkward expedient, which has been very frequently resorted to by historians and chronologers, of imagining *two* Assyrian empires; the first ending with Thonos Concolerus, and the second with the capture of Nineveh in the reign of Serac or Sardanapalus. The latter empire is supposed to have been much weaker than the former, and to have possessed a less extensive territory; whereas, in fact, we find, in the Scriptural history, that the power of Assyria became greater, after the accession of the Arbacidæ or Median dynasty, than ever it was before; stretching westward to the Mediterranean sea, and southward to the very borders of Egypt.

Even Sir William Drummond feels himself necessitated to have recourse to the supposition that Nineveh was twice taken by the Medes; first under the command of Arbaces in the 747 before the Christian era, and, secondly, under the command of Cyaxares, in the year 603 before the same epoch: and it is on this account, he thinks, that the

* I have not taken particular notice of the number of Justin, both because it is very generally pronounced corrupt, and because it does not harmonize with any system of chronology which has yet been devised. Freret's attempt does not give satisfaction.

Greeks have been led into mistakes and contradictions concerning the duration of the Assyrian empire. "This empire," he adds, "was in fact dissolved in the time of Arbaces; but as Assyria still existed as a kingdom, and as Nineveh was not destroyed till the reign of Cyaxares, the difference between the state of Assyria before Sardanapalus and after the death of that monarch, may have escaped the attention of writers who were not accurately acquainted with oriental history."*

But there is not the most distant evidence, either in the sacred writings, or in the works of the Greek historians, for a double capture of Nineveh. On the contrary, it is manifest that it suffered nothing from the hand of the destroyer till the end of the seventh century before Christ, when it was reduced by the Medes and Babylonians. The mission of Jonah was directed to a sovereign of Nineveh who must have reigned about the time of Arbaces, and who, in fact, was either that Mede himself or his immediate successor; and we know, on the best authority, that the capital of Assyria was not consigned to destruction for many years after the warning of the prophet. The whole of this confusion has arisen from a mistake on the part of Ctesias, or rather perhaps of Diodorus Siculus, who has transferred to the revolution which placed the Arbacidæ on the Assyrian throne, the circumstances which belonged to the capture of Nineveh by the Median and Babylonian armies under the command of Cyaxares. It is true, that all the particulars connected with the change of the Assyrian dynasty in the year B.C. 821 are covered with the deepest obscurity. That an insurrection took place, and that Thonos Concolerus was

* Origines, vol. i. p. 227.

either slain or driven from his capital, are events which come recommended to us upon the strongest probability; but the subsequent state and history of the Assyrian government prove incontestably that Nineveh was not destroyed, and that the power of her kings was not in the slightest degree curtailed.

That an important change did take place in the Assyrian monarchy about the year B.C. 821, is, I repeat, acknowledged by every writer who has had occasion to study that portion of ancient history. Eusebius places this revolt in B.C. 818, Petavius in the year B.C. 876, and Usher in B.C. 747. Petavius, it is clear, carries the event in question 45 years too high, although in this he agrees within a short interval with Justin, who gives 350 years to the duration of the Median kingdom from Arbaces to Cyrus. Usher, on the contrary, brings it down 73 years too low; and, without any authority that will bear examination, makes Belesis, who is supposed to have assisted Arbaces in the war against their common sovereign, to be Nabonasar, the first Babylonian king in Ptolemy's canon.

Eusebius and Petavius are known to have computed in different ways, from an arbitrary reckoning of the time when Ninus began to reign, as well as of the total duration of the Assyrian empire itself. The archbishop, on the other hand, alleged the testimony of Herodotus, who says, that the Assyrians had, at the time of the revolt, reigned over the upper or greater Asia 520 years. But, as Jackson remarks, Herodotus does not say that *Ninus* began to reign only 520 years before the Median insurrection; on which account, the supposition made by Usher, that it was the first king of Assyria who did then commence his government, is not only unsupported by the declaration of Herodotus, but is contrary to the evidence of all ancient writers, who agree that the Assyrian em-

pire had subsisted about 1300 years before the Medes disturbed the succession of her monarchs.*

Eusebius, indeed, appears to have had very confused notions in regard to the condition of things during the period from Arbaces to Dejoces; which he, however, properly calculates at a hundred and eleven years. He relates that, *Arbaces Medus, Assyriorum imperio destructo, regnum in Medos transtulit: et interim sine principibus res agebatur usque ad Deiocem regem Medorum;* that is, Arbaces the Mede, upon destroying the empire of the Assyrians, transferred the kingly power to the Medes; and in the meanwhile affairs were conducted without the intervention of princes, until the time of Dejoces, the king of the Medes. He likewise imagines that, during this long period, the Chaldeans were in possession of the supreme power, though he had just the moment before said that Arbaces transferred it to the Medes; and he even supposes that all the other nations which had composed the Assyrian empire were governed by their own kings for a hundred and eleven years.† The Assyrian name, in fact, is supposed to have been extinct; and yet, in a subsequent part of his work, he represents Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, as carrying the ten tribes from Samaria into the mountains of Media. He admits also, that Sennacherib, who certainly reigned at Nineveh, sent a colony of Assyrians into Judea, and,

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* Chronological Antiquities, vol. i. p. 300. "Usher's is a strange hypothesis," he adds, "and altogether unsupported; and it is a metachronism of no less than 748 years, by his own reckoning, of the time of the Median revolt."

"Dr Prideaux, in his Connection of the Old and New Testament, makes Arbaces the same with Tiglathpileser, and Belesis to be Nabonassar; which is all mere invention, and not founded in any chronology.—*Chronolog. Antiq.* vol. i. p. 303.

† Chaldæi proprie prævalebant; quorum separatæ quædam regum successiones feruntur. Reliquæ autem gentes propriis regibus utebantur.—*Euseb. Pamphil. Chron.* lib. i. p. 24.

moreover, that Tiglathpileser transported a great number of Jews into Assyria,—an exercise of power which is quite incompatible with the supposition that the Assyrian empire was quite dissolved upon the revolt of Arbaces.*

Scaliger and Petavius were not less embarrassed with the same unlucky position which has been founded on the mistaken testimony of Ctesias, namely, that the Assyrian empire was overturned by Arbaces. They were compelled to allow that the Assyrians, after their subjection to the Medes, must at some time and in some manner, of which there are no traces in history, have shaken off their thraldom, and established a new empire at Nineveh. Scaliger at length, driven from the very conclusions which he himself had formed, by the absurdities which he found inseparable from every hypothesis that implied the destruction of the Assyrian capital and the downfall of its power, in the days of Arbaces, ventured to call in question the existence of the facts upon which he had all along proceeded. Farther inquiry satisfied him that Ctesias had either been himself misinformed, or that he must have been ill understood by Diodorus Siculus and the other writers who followed him. "Quum dicat Medos a clade Sardanapali ad obitum Astyagis, Assyriorum regnum obtinuisse, merito ut dubitetur, facit sacra pagina, quæ Tiglath-pul-Asar et Sennacherib regum Assyriæ meminit. Sed neque verum est, Ninum a Medis solo aequatam, ut refert idem Ctesias, cum ei et divinarum literarum auc-

* Decem tribus quæ vocantur ISRAEL, et erant in parte Samariæ, victæ a Sennacherib, qui et Salmanassar, rege Chaldæorum, translatæ sunt inter montes Medorum.

Sennacherib rex Chaldæorum ad custodiendam regionem Judæam accolas misit Assyrios, qui æmulatores legis Judæi facti Samaritæ nuncupati sunt; quod Latina lingua exprimitur *custodes*.—*Euseb. Pamph. Chron.* lib. post p. 116.

toritas, et Herodotus refragetur, qui in hac parte longe certior Ctesia a nobis deprehenditur.*

But although Ctesias has had the unhappiness to be misinterpreted, in regard to the political results which have been supposed to accompany the change of dynasty at the time when Arbaces ascended the throne of Assyria, there is no reason to suspect his accuracy relative to the chronological period at which that event actually took place. On the contrary, his evidence cannot but appear to be completely confirmed by the very remarkable circumstance stated above, that the sum of the reigns which he assigns to the kings of the Median line fills up almost exactly the interval between Arbaces and the accession of Cyrus as king of Media. The term occupied by his nine kings extends, as I have already observed, to 267 years; which being deducted from B.C. 821, the date of the new dynasty, we have B.C. 554; the very epoch denoted by Herodotus for the commencement of the Persian sway. His agreement with the father of history, during the latter division of the period in particular, is very striking; and when we call to mind that the one drew his materials from the archives which contained the successions of the imperial throne, and the other from records which respected the national crown of the Medes, we cannot fail to see, as well in the points where their statements coincide as where they differ, the most satisfactory proof of their knowledge and veracity. The following table will illustrate this observation:

* Scaligeri Emend. Temp. Not. in Fragm. p. 42.

HERODOTUS.	Y.	B.C.
1. Median revolt and interregnum,	6	710
2. Dejoces,	53	704
3. Phraortes,	22	651
4. Cyaxares,	40	629
5. Astyages,	35	589
Cyrus the Persian,	156	554

CTESIAS.	Y.	B.C.
Arbaces and interregnum,	22	710
Artæus,	40	688
Artynes,	22	648
Astibarus,	40	626
Aspadas or Astyigas,	32*	586
Cyrus the Persian,	156	554

In endeavouring to fix the time of Arbaces in a former section, I alluded to the fact mentioned by Eusebius and Syncellus, that the power of the Assyrians was dissolved in the time of Ariphron, the ninth perpetual archon at Athens. Now, according to the Parian marble, Ariphron succeeded Pherecles in the year B.C. 846; and his administration, says Africanus, lasted 31 years; consequently the revolution conducted by Arbaces must have taken place *before* 815. Eusebius, it is true, allows only 20 years for the archonate of Ariphron, which, of course, must have ended in B.C. 826; and some writers, accordingly, among whom I may rank Mr Faber, have been disposed to conclude that the defection from the Assyrian monarch may have begun a few years prior to the full completion of the object which the insurgents had in view, and, at least, before the accession of the Median dynasty in B.C. 821. The numbers of the bishop of Cæsarea, I must add, are confirmed by those of the Parian record; hence it is very probable that the computation of Africanus is wrong, and that the administration of Ariphron did not extend to so low a period as the

* As the number of years during which Aspadas or Astyages reigned is not given by Diodorus, I have inserted 32, which makes the two catalogues coincide exactly. It is usual to supply 35, the number given by Herodotus, which creates a difference of 3 years. It is obvious that the last two kings in each list must be the same persons; because, after the capture of Nineveh in B. C. 606, the *kingdom* of Media merged in the *empire* of the Medes.

year B.C. 815. But my object in referring to these authorities is fully gained, if I have thereby established the important fact, that the revolt of Arbaces and the end of the old Assyrian race of kings came to pass more than 800 years before the Christian era. Those who are desirous of entering more deeply into this question, will find ample materials on which to form their judgment in the volumes of Eusebius and of the monk George.*

It appears, then, upon the whole, that this portion of ancient history will be greatly elucidated if the reader has found, in the arguments which have just been detailed, satisfactory reasons for believing that Ctesias carried the chain of succession downwards through the several dynasties of Assyrian monarchs—whatever might be their birth or lineage—from Ninus to the last sovereign who swayed the sceptre of Western Asia prior to the accession of Cyrus; and that whatever distinction he may have otherwise made between Medes, Persians, and Assyrians, he took no notice of any difference, in blood or nation, when he copied the list of kings which he found in the records of the ancient empire which so long flourished on the banks of the Tigris. In a word, he appears to have counted from the son of Belus to the son of Cambyses in an unbroken line; and thereby supplied us with the means of determining that the total duration of the Assyrian empire, including that of the Medes, amounted to 1572 years; that is, 1305+267=1572, from Ninus to Cyrus the Persian.

* Eusebii Pamphili Chron. lib. posterior, p. 110. "Sub Ariphrone, Assyriorum regnum destructum, et Sardanapalus ut nonnulli scriptitant. Assyriorum tricesimus sextus, Thonos Concolerus, *ann.* xx. qui vocatur Græcè Sardanapalus.

See also the "Animadversions" of Scaliger, p. 63.

The words of Syncellus are as follows: ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀριήφων Φερεκλέους ἔτη κ'. κατὰ δὲ Ἀφρικανὸν ἔτη λ η'. κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν Ἀριήφονα ἡ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων κατελύθη ἀρχη, ὡς πάντα συμφωνοῦσι.—*Chronographia*, p. 185.

Proceeding on the ground which we have thus established, the origin of the Assyrian empire will be carried back to the year before Christ 2126, or, in other words, to the year 1059 after the Flood. This epoch supplies most of the conditions which are required to make chronology harmonize with the prominent events of ancient history. For example, there has been among the writers of antiquity a uniform and very general tradition that Abraham was born in the reign of Ninus, or, at least, that the prince of Nineveh and the Hebrew patriarch were contemporaries. If, then, we follow the computation of the Seventy, and place the birth of the son of Terah in 1072 after the Deluge, the nativity of Abraham will coincide with the thirteenth year of Ninus; whereas, if we adopt the genealogy of the Samaritan Pentateuch, and date the birth of the same servant of God in the year of the new world 942, he will still be found to have lived in the time of Ninus, and to have been a hundred and seventeen years of age when the latter ascended the throne.

But the era which we have determined for the beginning of the Assyrian empire, not only answers to the historical facts with which it is usually associated in the works of the ancients; it also comes within one year of the time at which Ctesias commences his catalogue of the Assyrian monarchs. He places the accession of Ninus in the year B.C. 2127; being at the utmost not more than twelve months before the epoch at which we have arrived, by reckoning backward from the reign of Cyrus and the capture of Babylon.

Jackson, who insists upon identifying the revolution which, in B.C. 821, set Arbaces upon the throne, with the Median revolt in B.C. 710, which led to the establishment of a separate kingdom under Dejoces, brings down, as I have

said, the accession of Ninus 110 years lower than it ought to be; and thereby at once, without any good reason, departs from the only authority that we have for the early part of the Assyrian chronology, and also creates difficulties which do not really belong to the subject. That the son of Belus was invested with the royal authority about the year B.C. 2126, is rendered manifest by an anecdote mentioned by Diodorus Siculus on the authority of Ctesias, namely, that Teutamus sent Memnon, who was the son of Tithonus, the prefect of Persia, with an army to assist Priam, when closely pressed by the Greeks during the celebrated siege of Troy. Now, Teutamus, according to the catalogue of Ctesias, began to reign B.C. 1215, and died 32 years after, that is, in the year B.C. 1183. But, Troy, according to the most approved chronology, was taken in the year B.C. 1183; and hence the military aid sent by the Assyrian king must have marched from Persia in the last year of his reign. That this was actually the case is proved by an extract made by Scaliger from an old Latin annalist, who appears to have compiled his book from Africanus, Eusebius, and Castor.* This author, who seems not, however, to have been a complete master of the Greek tongue, relates that Troy was taken by the Greeks in the thirty-second year of Teutamus, which was, as I have just remarked, the year B.C. 1183.†

Ctesias, however, not only records the fact just mentioned, but, which is of much more consequence, remarks,

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* Eusebii Pamphili Chronicon, p. 74.

† "Anno isto (scilicet Teutami) tricesimo secundo confixus est sol ab Achæis,"—an absurd and unmeaning expression which Scaliger, with his wonted learning and sagacity, traces to the following Greek words: τουτου ετει λ β'. ἡλω Ιλιον ὑπο Αχαιων; that is, in his 32d year, Troy was taken by the Greeks.

that the Assyrians, at the time of Teutamus, had possessed the empire of Asia more than a thousand years. If, then, we add B.C. 1000 to B.C. 1183, the amount will be B.C. 2183, being 57 years higher than the date at which we have placed the beginning of Ninus. But the computation of Ctesias is understood by Cephalion and others to bear a reference to the earliest commencement of the Assyrian government in the days of Belus; and as the reign of this monarch is usually estimated at 55 years, we come at once within two years of the thousand stated by Ctesias. If, on the other hand, we estimate the administration of Belus at 62 years, the term assigned to it by the old Latin Chronicle, the beginning of his reign will ascend to a thousand and five years before the taking of Troy; thereby confirming the chronological scheme which I have adopted, and, at the same time, illustrating the observation of the Greek physician, relative to the duration of the Assyrian empire.*

We are not greatly concerned in the result of whatever inquiry may be instituted respecting the truth of the tradition recorded by Ctesias. It has appeared to many antiquaries extremely doubtful whether an Assyrian king, twelve hundred years before the birth of Christ, could have any relations of peace or war with a petty sovereign on the very western extremity of Asia. Even the narrative of Diodorus confesses the uncertainty which attaches to the expedition of Memnon, and informs us that the Ethiopians of the Nile claimed him as a countryman, and continued to point out a palace which bore his name. How-

* Μοιη γαρ τετυχηκειν ἀναγραφης ἡ πεμφθεισα συμμαχια τοις Τρωσι ὑπ᾽ Ασσυριων, ἡς ἱστρατηγει Μεμνων ὁ Τιθωνου. Τευταμου γαρ βασιλευοντος της Ασιας, ὁς ἡν εικοστος ἀπο Νινυου του Σεμιραμιδος, φασι τους μεν Αγαμεμνονος Ελληνας επι τροιαν στρατευσαι, την ἡγεμονιαν ἐχοντων της Ασιας των Ασσυριων ἐτη πλειω των χιλιων.—*Diodor. Sicul.* lib. ii. c. 22.

ever that may be, subjoins the historian, there is a constant tradition that Memnon was sent to the aid of the Trojans with 20,000 foot and 200 chariots; where he displayed the greatest bravery in repeated battles with the Greeks, till at length being ensnared by the Thessalians, he was taken prisoner and slain.* With these legendary notices, I repeat, we have no farther concern than as they are connected with the date of one great historical event, by means of which we are enabled to ascertain the relative antiquity of another; the distance between the first and the second being distinctly stated. It is enough that we can thereby remove every objection to the testimony upon which we believe that the Assyrian empire was founded about a thousand years before the taking of Troy.

Having on the grounds now explained fixed the commencement of the Assyrian monarchy in the year B.C. 2126, it remains that we make an attempt to determine, on a similar footing, the origin of the more ancient kingdom which is supposed to have been established by Nimrod at Babel. According, then, to the dates supplied by Polyhistor, Africanus, and Moses of Chorene, the three dynasties which occupied the Chaldæan throne, prior to the era of Ninus, filled up a period of 622 years. This sum added to 2126 will give B.C. 2748, or 437 years after the Flood, for the beginning of Nimrod's power on the banks of the Euphrates,—a chronological epoch which most readers will think considerably too high, as well as inconsistent with the main facts of the ancient patriarchal history. If, therefore, we leave out the third dynasty, which was unknown to Africanus and Polyhistor, and which we owe entirely to the Armenian historian, Moses

* Diod. Siculus, lib. ii. c. 22. Ου μην αλλα τοις Τρωσι λεγεται βοηθησαντα τον Μεμνονα μετα δυσμυριων μεν πεζων, αρματων δε διακοσιων.

Chorenensis, the period assigned to the ancient Babylonian kingdom will be reduced to 405 or 440, according as we shall adopt the larger or smaller term attributed to the first dynasty. The latter number added to 2126 will carry back the time of Nimrod to the year B.C. 2566, or 619 after the deluge,—a result which does not differ much from the calculation of Hales and Faber; the year of Nimrod, according to the former, being 601 after the Flood, and according to the latter 613.

It would betray a silly affectation of accuracy, which, in matters of this kind, is not to be attained, were I to enter into a chronological disquisition in support of the several conclusions to which the above statement has conducted us. In regard to the events of a period at once so remote and so completely destitute of the steady light which belongs to later ages, we cannot reach certainty, whatever may be the path by which we attempt to approach it. But, proceeding upon the few facts with which we are supplied in sacred history, and directing our researches by the established laws of human nature, we cannot carry the origin of kingdoms to an earlier date than the middle of the sixth century after the Flood. The opinions of Bishop Cumberland in regard to population are absurd in the extreme; and hence all the chronological systems which assume the existence of Nimrod's kingdom about a hundred years after the renewal of the human race, are encumbered with numerous and insuperable difficulties.

I am aware of the objection which has been urged against the Ctesian list of Assyrian kings, on the ground that the length of their reigns exceeds somewhat the usual average of successions, in all countries where the term of human life has been distinctly ascertained. Thirty-six generations in the course of 1300 years will, when divided, be found to give a reign of fully thirty-six years

to every sovereign from Ninus to Thonos Concolerus; which being about three years above the ordinary length must, it is said, carry the origin of their dynasty a hundred years too high. But without entering into particulars on this head, where we have no facts to guide us which apply to the early times under consideration, I shall satisfy myself with an answer taken from the work of Dr Prichard.

"The fallacy of the attempt to guess at chronological facts by means of the average length of reigns is placed in the strongest point of view by applying it to a few particular instances. If we take an average of the kings of France, from the time of Henry the Fourth, we shall find that they continued upwards of forty years one with another. Let us apply this average to the emperors of Rome. The number of reigns from Cæsar Augustus to Augustulus was sixty-two, and the latter prince fell in the year 476. Calculate on the average above deduced, and Augustus must be computed to have begun his reign 2004 years before Christ. Even if we adopt Sir Isaac Newton's average of twenty years, we shall place him a thousand years before his real time. On the other hand, we should shorten the English and French history in a like degree, if we calculate its duration by an average deduced from the Roman. We may conclude that this method of calculating the duration of reigns in one country from a rule formed by the succession in another, is likely to lead us into great errors, especially if we apply to an hereditary unbroken series, an estimate drawn from the mutable succession in more turbulent governments."*

Whatever may be the degree of confidence which the

* Critical Examination of the Remains of Egyptian Chronology, by J. C. Prichard, M.D. p. 138. London, 1819.

reader may think proper to place in the deductions relative to the Assyrian empire, which have arisen from the principles that I have endeavoured to establish, it will not be lessened when he reflects, that the argument has all along proceeded on a uniform principle, and without using any liberties with the ancient records whence the chronological facts have been derived. I have carefully avoided the practice of that bold criticism which bends to its own objects the clearest statements of the authors whose works it examines; holding it as a first principle, that the testimony of an ancient writer must be received in its literal meaning, and, with the exception of manifest corruptions and typographical errors, either adopted in whole or rejected in whole. For this reason, I could not follow the example of the learned and zealous Jackson, who, in order to accommodate the statement of Ctesias to his own hypothesis respecting the Assyrian empire, alters the dates throughout the whole catalogue by not less than a hundred and eleven years. Dr Hales, again, adopts the last twelve kings as given in the record of the Grecian antiquary, while he rejects the remaining twenty-four as "not true." But it is as clear as the day that the whole list, which we believe to have been copied by him from the Persian archives, depends upon the very same authority; and consequently that, if the first two-thirds of the succession be fictitious, the last third must be equally destitute of every claim to credit. Finding, in Ctesias, the most satisfactory marks of truth and good information, I have trodden in his steps from Ninus down to Astyages, a period of 1572 years; that is, from B.C. 2126 to B.C. 554, according to the table which I now annex. The slight difference of one year might, perhaps, have been avoided; but in reckoning backward from the accession of Cyrus as king of Media, to the beginning of Ninus, the result came out exactly as I have now given it.

	Y.	B.C.
1. Ninus,	52	2126
2. Semiramis,	42	2074
3. Ninyas,	38	2032
4. Arius,	30	1994
5. Aralius,	40	1964
6. Xerxes or Balæus,	30	1924
7. Armanithres,	38	1894
8. Belochus,	35	1857
9. Balæus,	52	1821
10. Sethos, Altadas,	35	1769
11. Mamythus,	30	1734
12. Ascalius or Mascaleus,	30	1704
13. Sphærus,	28	1674
14. Mamylus,	30	1646
15. Sparthæus,	40	1616
16. Ascatades,	42	1574
17. Amyntes,	50	1534
18. Belochus, 2d.	25	1484
19. Baletores or Baletaras,	34	1459
20. Lamprides,	37	1425
21. Sosares,	20	1388
22. Lampares,	30	1368
23. Panyas,	45	1338
24. Sosarmus,	42	1293
25. Mithræus,	37	1251
26. Teutamus or Tautanus	32	1214
27. Teutæus,	44	1182
28. Thineus,	30	1138
29. Dercylus,	40	1108
30. Empacmes,	38	1068
31. Laosthenes,	45	1030
32 Pertiades,	30	985
33 Ophratæus,	21	955

	Y.	B.C.
34. Ephecheres, -	52	934
35. Acraganes, - -	42	882
36. Thonos Concolerus or Sardanapalus,	20	841
37. Arbaces, - -	28	821
38. Mandauces, - -	20	793
39. Sosarmus, - -	30	773
40. Artycas, -	30	743
41. Arbianes, - -	22	713
42. Artæus, - -	40	691
43. Artynes, - -	22	651
44. Astibaras or Cyaxares 1st, -	40	629
45. Astyigas or Astyages, -	35	589
Sum of reigns,	1572	554

In the time of Arbianes the celebrated revolt took place which gave a beginning to the separate kingdom of Media, of which the sovereigns were Dejoces, Phraortes, and Cyaxares. The last of these monarchs took Nineveh, upon which the *imperial* authority passed into the hands of the Median kings of Ecbatana; and hence the reason why the last two princes of that line are inserted in the catalogue of Assyrian emperors.

So far, I think, we may rely upon Ctesias, because to this extent he acted only the part of a clerk or copyist. The mistake into which he fell respecting the destruction of Nineveh in the time of Arbaces, arose evidently from a different source. He found nothing concerning it in the archives of Persia; whence, it is probable, the account which he gives of that event was found floating among the traditions of the Greeks, and was on that authority alone introduced into his narrative.

A great degree of obscurity continues to hang over the annals of the Medes, between the period when their coun-

trymen first ascended the Assyrian throne, and the occurrence of those events which are supposed to have established their independence in the time of Dejoces. It is even extremely doubtful whether that independence was ever acknowledged by the court of Nineveh. Dejoces, indeed, is said to have made conquests and to have extended far to the northward the power and reputation of Media. But we find that Phraortes his successor was checked in his first attempt on the Assyrian provinces, and ultimately defeated and slain by Nabuchodonosor, the warlike monarch of that country. In the seventeenth year of his reign the Assyrian took the field at the head of a formidable army, when he defeated the Median forces near Ragau or Rages, a city in their own territories; took Arphaxad or Phraortes prisoner, and put him to death the same day, as a rebellious satrap; stormed Ecbatana his capital, which he had strongly fortified; demolished its tower and spoiled its palaces; and then returned to Nineveh, where he feasted his victorious troops a hundred and twenty days.*

In truth, upon a minute and candid examination of historical records it must be acknowledged that, except in the pages of Herodotus, we have no evidence for an independent sovereignty in Media till after the success of Cyaxares and his allies before the walls of Nineveh. That there were kings at Ecbatana and even at Babylon before the rod of the Assyrians was broken, in the days of Sarac, will be readily granted by every one in the least conversant with ancient history; but that these sovereigns owed no allegiance to the paramount authority at Nineveh, is more than doubtful. The Babylonians, indeed, down

* Hales, vol. iii. p. 66. Compare Judith i. 16. with ii. 1.

to the last moment of the imperial government, are universally acknowledged to have been vassals and tributaries to the Assyrians, if we except a short period of insurrection about the end of the eighth century before Christ; and that the Medes owned a similar subordination to the ancient empire on the Tigris, will, I am certain, appear more probable in proportion as the testimony of the old writers, both sacred and profane, is carefully examined.

To conclude, as has usually been done, that the Median power obtained an ascendency over the Assyrian at the time when Arbaces, a Mede by birth or office, ascended the throne of Nineveh, is not only in itself a groundless assumption, but directly contrary to the best-established facts of contemporaneous history. The attempt made by Larcher, the celebrated editor of Herodotus, to extricate from confusion and contradiction the opinions which are usually entertained on this subject, affords a striking proof, not only of the dominion of system even over a vigorous mind, but also of the utter untenability of the hypothesis in favour of which his reasoning is employed. Admitting that Nineveh was not destroyed at the revolt of Arbaces, and even that several kings reigned in that city after the event now mentioned, he finds it necessary to suggest that the prefect just named, and Belesis his confederate, must, after they dethroned the tyrant against whom they had taken arms, have come to the resolution of setting up another sovereign in his place; on condition that he, the king of kings and master of the Assyrian empire, should profess himself a tributary and vassal to them, the governors of Media and Babylon!

Il est certain que le royaume de Ninive ne fut point detruit par la revolution arrivée sous Sardanapale. Castor, qui fait mention de cette revolution, parle de Ninus successeur de ce prince. Il y a grande apparence que Ar-

baces et Belesys considerant que s'ils vouloient subjuguer le reste des provinces Assyriennes, il etoit a craindre qu'ils ne reussissent pas, aimerent mieux reconnôitre Ninus pour roi, lui imposant un tribut, et se retirer dans leurs etats respectifs pour y affermir leur puissance.*

The plan here ascribed to the governors of Media and Babylon is sufficiently absurd. They were desirous, it is said, to conquer all the Assyrian provinces, and yet they began by establishing a king over the country which they meant to overrun with their arms; the capital of which, too, with all its wealth and influence, they had just thought proper to relinquish! Why should they retire into their respective provinces to confirm their power, when Nineveh was already in their hands? And why set up a king in the centre of the empire, and immediately withdraw into their several governments to collect a force in order to dethrone him? One absurdity follows another here so closely, that it is only a waste of time to repeat them. The account given by Ctesias, on the other hand, is plain and simple. He tells us, that Arbaces himself ascended the Assyrian throne; which was held by him and his successors during 267 years,—a period which terminates at the very time when Cyrus put an end to the Median empire in the reign of Astyages.

Larcher very naturally asks, as the monarchy of Assyria subsisted after the death of Sardanapalus, why the most part of ancient authors should agree in fixing the destruction of it at that epoch? This question he is pleased to answer on the ground of the same hypothesis which has led him into so much inconsistency; for, assuming the identity of the prince whom Arbaces deposed, and of Sar-

* Memoire sur quelques Epoques des Assyriens. Par M. Larcher. Hist. de l'Academie des Inscrip. et Belles Lettres, vol. xlv. p. 379.

danapalus, who perished amidst the ruins of Nineveh, he maintains that the Assyrians, from the revolt of Arbaces, fell into comparative insignificance, and no longer played the first part on the theatre of the world. J'ai observé que depuis ce moment l'empire d'Assyrie ne joua, pour ainsi dire, sur la scene du monde, qu'un rôle secondaire; que depouillé de ses plus belles provinces il perdit presque tout son ancien eclât; qu'eclipsé par les royaumes de Babylone et de Medie, il n'attira plus sur lui les yeux de l'Orient; en un mot, qu'il cessa d'etre compté au nombre de grandes monarchies.*

It is not a little remarkable, that this very epoch, which is fixed upon by Larcher for the decline of the Assyrian empire, when it was eclipsed by other kingdoms, and ceased to be counted in the number of the great monarchies, has been singled out by Marsham, Newton, and Jameson as the era when that empire first began to attract notice! The brilliant reigns of Pul, Tiglathpileser, and Shalmaneser, and the mighty host of Sennacherib, afford ample evidence that the power of Assyria was not yet diminished, and that her crown was not yet deprived of its glory. We are assured, too, in holy writ, that the captives taken by these warriors in their repeated invasions of the land of Israel were placed in the cities of Media; a province which must, at that period, when, according to Larcher, the kings of Nineveh were tributaries to its governor, have been in complete subjection to them.

The editor of Herodotus could not find any means of reconciling the narrative of sacred history with the chronological scheme which he had been led to form. He could not conceal from himself the convincing evidence

* Larcher. Memoire sur quelques Epoques des Assyriens, p. 380.

presented in the Old Testament for the existence of the Assyrian empire in full strength and splendour; while, according to the conclusions of his system, he was compelled to regard it as tributary to the satrap of Media, and as utterly disabled from disputing the commands of that rebellious province. To relieve his argument from this dilemma, he ventures to suggest that the Assyrian monarch, finding he was not a match for the Medes, resolved to carry his arms against the Israelites, whom he describes as a feeble people and long a prey to their neighbours.* Such policy on the part of the Ninevite sovereign must appear at least very questionable, whatever we may be disposed to think of its probability; and, in fact, unless we are supplied with stronger reasons than M. Larcher has devised, we shall still be slow to believe that a king, who could not protect his hereditary dominions against rebellious subjects, would lead out the flower of his army to make foreign conquests in a poor and distant country.

But as the captives taken during his expedition in the land of Israel were sent by the Assyrian ruler into the cities of the Medes, it is to be presumed that these cities were still under his dominion; for which reason M. Larcher desires his reader to imagine that Shalmaneser had, at a convenient moment, invaded some little canton of Media, and conquered the places whither he afterwards despatched his prisoners. "Historians," says he, "have, without doubt, kept silence respecting this invasion of Media, because it was confined to the conquest of a very small country, and was therefore too inconsiderable to deserve to be transmitted

* Ce prince, ne se sentant point assez puissant pour faire rentrer les Medes sous son obeissance, aima mieux porter l'effort de ses armes contre les Israelites, peuple foible, et depuis longtemps la proie de ses voisins.—*Memoires de l'Academie*, vol. xlv. p. 382.

to posterity.* But is not the entire silence of history to be taken for a clear proof that no such enterprise ever took place, and that we are entitled to consider Media as having been at the period in question, not an independent republic, and the mistress of Assyria, but a province owing allegiance and service to the crown of Nineveh? In a word, we shall never see through this dark and intricate portion of chronology unless we follow the footsteps of Ctesias; and, upon the authority of his catalogue, admit that Arbaces and his successors, though Medes by extraction, were, in fact, kings of Assyria, and occupied the throne of Ninus: that Dejoces, Phraortes, and Cyaxares were sovereigns of Media proper in the latter times of the Assyrian empire; that the last of the princes now mentioned, by his conquest of Nineveh, raised the sceptre of his nation to the sovereignty of Asia, and thereby gave to the Median empire its true beginning; and, finally, that, for the reason now stated, the names of Cyaxares and Astyages are recorded not only by Herodotus as kings of Media, but by Ctesias as rulers of the Assyrian monarchy. Nineveh being destroyed, the two Median emperors who succeeded to the power of Sarac did not, it is obvious, reign in that capital: they continued, it is probable, to preside over the administration of affairs at Ecbatana, or some other city in their native dominions; and hence it is

* "Les historiens ont gardé sans doute le silence sur l'expedition de Medie, parce qu'elle se borna a la conquête d'un tres-petit pays, et qu'elle fut trop peu considerable pour meriter d'etre transmise a la posterité. Ce silence a cependant embarrassé les chronologistes anciens et modernes, qui ne pouvant douter, d'apres le temoignage de l'Ecriture, que les Israelites n'aient eté transportés dans quelques cantons de la Medie par Salmanasar, se demandent comment ce prince a pu transplanter ses prisonniers dans un pays qui ne lui appartenoit pas. On ne pourra jamais repondre à cette difficulté qu'en admettant que Salmanasar est anterieur a la revolte d'Arbaces, ou en supposant avec moi que ce prince s'etoit emparé de quelque petit canton de la Medie, a la faveur des troubles qui agitoient ce pays."—*Page* 383.

that Herodotus, whose chief attention, in the historical work which has come down to us, was directed to the concerns of the Medes and Persians, gives a list of four Median kings; while Ctesias, who copied the archives of the successive imperial dynasties, exhibits a catalogue of the monarchs who held the chief authority in Asia from Ninus, in the year B.C. 2126, to the accession of Cyrus in B.C. 554.

At the hazard of exhausting the patience of the reader, as well as of incurring the charge of unskilful repetition, I have endeavoured to place the above conclusion in several lights and in different points of view; in the hope that I might thereby succeed in making myself understood, and avoid, at the same time, those defects in illustration which have so often rendered useless the most brilliant learning and painful research.

In addition to the books inserted at page 168, volume first, I take leave to mention the following, as closely connected with the subject of the foregoing chapter:

Freret. Sur l'Histoire et la Chronologie des Assyriens de Ninive. Memoires de l'Academie des Inscrip. et Belles Lettres, vol. 5.
Sevin. Recherches sur l'histoire d'Assyrie, vol. 3.
Larcher. Sur quelques Epoques des Assyriens, vol. 45.
——— Chronologie d'Herodote, vol. 7th of his translation of Herodotus.
Anquetil du Perron. Memoire sur le commencement et la durée de l'Empire Assyrien. Memoires de l'Academie des Inscrip. et Belles Lettres, vol. 40.
Cumberland's Origines Gentium Antiquissimæ.
Ancient Universal History, vol. 3d, octavo edition.
Dodwell. Discourse on Sanchoniathon, and Dissertationes Cyprianicæ.
Simson, Edward. Chronica Catholica.
Desvignoles. Chronologie de l'Histoire Sainte.
Fourmont. Reflexions Critiques sur les anciens peuples.
Diodorus Siculus, lib. ii.
Bouhier. Recherches et Dissertations sur Herodote.
De Brosses. Memoires sur la monarchie d'Assyrie, vol. 26, Memoires de l'Academie, &c.
Huber. De Genuina Ætate Assyriorum Dissertationes.
Tournemine. Dissertations Chronologiques.

CHAPTER II.

CONTAINING AN OUTLINE OF SUCH PARTS OF THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE HEBREWS AS MAY APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN AFFECTED BY THE POWER OR CHARACTER OF THE NEIGHBOURING NATIONS.

IT has already been observed, that, according to the scheme of chronology adopted in this work, Abraham was born one thousand and seventy-two years after the Flood, and consequently in the year B.C. 2113; which latter year coincides with the 13th of the reign of Ninus. The state of society in those early times, when a great part of the richest land in Asia remained still unappropriated, must have presented features which bear hardly any resemblance to the constitution and policy of crowded countries, where rank and wealth are determined by limits which derive all their authority from the arbitrary enactments of a highly-advanced civilization, and where the institutions of positive law have long superseded the simple maxims of untutored nature. We shall therefore fail in our attempts to acquire any knowledge of the Assyrian monarchy in the days of Ninus, if we commence our researches under

the impression that the past may be assimilated to the present; and that, by examining carefully what we now see, we may attain to an accurate acquaintance with that concerning which we can only read.

The existence of that ancient empire, as every one knows, has been called in question on the very ground of the utter incompatibility of such an establishment with the state and habits of mankind at that remote era. We are reminded not only that Abraham, in the midst of his household and flocks, travelled unmolested, and apparently without interfering with the rights of any prior occupant, through part of Mesopotamia, the Syrian desert, and even the land of Canaan, but also that the same patriarch, at the head of his slaves and hired servants, defeated the combined army of four confederated kings, and stripped them of their plunder. We are then asked whether it be probable that a monarchy, claiming the homage of all the scattered tribes which roamed between the Euphrates and the Indus, did exist twenty-one centuries before the birth of Christ? Without going so far as Sir William Drummond has chosen to proceed, and maintain that the father of Isaac vanquished on this occasion Nimrod himself, the mighty hunter and tyrant of the East, many authors are disposed to assert that the victorious patriarch gained at least a triumph over the kings of Babylonia and Persia, and impressed the terror of his name upon the most powerful princes who were in those days known to Asia.

But a closer inspection of the fact will, without weakening the grounds of our belief in the narrative whence it is derived, satisfy us that it is by no means inconsistent with the general tenor of ancient history. The first form of government in all countries appears to have been that which is denominated patriarchal; where the natural influence attached to the father of a family extends to the

various lines of his descendants, and combines in one clan or tribe all who bear the same name and own the same blood. The sons in the second, and sometimes in the third remove, become in like manner princes of their respective houses; and find that, in proportion as their progeny increases, their power and authority, as domestic rulers, experience a similar augmentation in kind as well as in degree.

But, in a little time, the necessity is felt of some bond of union to perpetuate the connexion of the several branches which have sprung from the parent stock, and to consolidate their growing powers not less for order than for defence. In the natural course of things, the first-born of the eldest family, that is, the lineal descendant of the original patriarch, is invested with a species of authority which, while it is sufficiently energetic to wield the strength of the united tribes in the event of war or commotion, leaves unimpaired, in seasons of tranquillity, the rights and freedom of every separate fraternity. After the lapse of a few generations, the several kindreds and clans settle in different districts, according to their pursuits or fancies; assuming to themselves a distinctive appellation by which they are desirous to be known; exercising, within the bounds of their several communities, all the prerogatives which belong to their original form of government; and enjoying the most perfect degree of liberty that is found consistent with the uses of social life.

But even in this advanced state, when families have enlarged themselves into tribes, and tribes into considerable nations, they do not refuse to acknowledge a certain dependence and subordination towards the ruling branch of their house, and the direct representative of their first ancestor. His lineage has an unquestioned pre-eminence among all the brethren of the same name; his authority is

admitted as a sacred right bequeathed to him by the founder of their race: and hence, in all cases where the common interest is at stake, his voice can summon every kinsman to rally round his banner against the public enemy, or to appear at his tribunal to assist with advice and counsel, whenever the laws of their community have been either violated or despised.

We have a fine illustration of this natural order and progress of society in the history of Jacob's family, after his twelve sons had become the heads of so many clans, and had assumed the tribual staff or sceptre as provincial governors. In his own tribe every prince of the House of his Fathers was regarded as an hereditary sovereign, led the troops in war, and administered justice in peace; but, in all matters of national interest, he was taught to remember that his authority was subordinate and derived, and that he was bound to obey the commands of him who sat in the seat of their common progenitor.

In other countries, perhaps, where the political constitution was more decidedly monarchical, the rise of imperial power in the elder branch of a family was still more direct and unambiguous. The sin of Reuben deprived him at a very early period of the dignity and influence which belonged to primogeniture; and hence, although the privileges of the first-born were by a divine warrant conferred upon Judah, the full prerogative was never assumed by that family, even to the limited extent permitted by the theocratical supremacy which all the tribes were bound to acknowledge. Among the descendants of Ishmael or of Esau, the regular progress of kingly power must have been less disturbed or delayed than in the line of Jacob; but even in the latter we can perceive evident traces of that general principle which, in the formation of society, renders the existence of a great number of tribes or sub-

ordinate nations, not incompatible with the simultaneous existence of a general monarchy to which they all profess allegiance, as the source and representative of their united strength and authority. In Edom there was very early a class of dukes or leaders, whose authority was recognized by their respective nations; and who in their turn, no doubt, acknowledged the pre-eminence of the senior branch, or the clan of the chief. The sacred historian, after inserting the catalogue, as well of the princes who dwelt in the plain, as of the Horites, or those who inhabited the mountains, informs us, that "these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel."*

It is to be observed, in regard to these septs or clans, that they all retained the privilege of making war, that is, of plundering the lands of their neighbours, without asking the consent of the supreme government, or even holding themselves accountable for any outrage which they might happen to commit with arms in their hands. We found that, in the time of the Judges, the several tribes of Israel were frequently at war on their own account; either to repel the aggressions of the Canaanites, or to extend the borders of the inheritance which had fallen to them by lot at the division of the land. The armies of Judah and Simeon combined for a common object; the people of Dan had recourse to guile as well as to force, in order to secure compensation in one part of the country for the loss which their weakness or cowardice had made them sustain in another; and the attentive reader of Scripture must have satisfied himself long ago that the troops which fought under the banners of Gideon and of Jephthah

* Genesis xxxvi. 31.

were drawn almost entirely from their respective tribes or *families*.

Here, then, we have under our view at once a powerful nation which could summon into the field nearly half a million of men, divided into twelve tribes, or subordinate nations, each of which had a defined territory, a local government, and a separate army.* Were we to suppose that the head or prince of every tribe had been denominated king, and that the ruler of the first, or royal tribe, as it was sometimes called, had been invested with the sounding title of *king of kings*, we might, with this qualification, fix on the Hebrews, immediately after their settlement in the land of Canaan, as affording an example of that species of empire which was probably established between the Euphrates and Tigris by Ninus the Assyrian. That the name of king was not deemed inconsistent with the limited authority of a tribual governor, is made manifest by the conduct of the Shechemites in the case of Abimelech, and by the proposal which was addressed to Gideon by the men of Asher, Zebulon, Manasseh, and Naphtali.

It is obvious, therefore, that the Assyrian empire might exist and be acknowledged over a vast extent of country, though there were, at the same time, in federal subjection to it, a great number of small potentates who exercised in their several districts a sovereign authority almost independent. The kings of Elam, of Shinar, of Ellasar, and their confederate Tidal, the king of nations, on the one hand; and Bera and Birsha, with their allies, on the other; were nothing more than the heads of clans, who enjoyed the privilege of carrying away one another's cattle, or of imposing a tribute as the price of forbear-

* Judges xx. 2.

ance. They are, it is true, called kings, and so were the dukes of Edom; and as every head of a house who owned a flock and could protect it, in the desert or on the mountain, was entitled to the proud appellation of a king of Edom, so every chieftain in Elam or Shinar, who could muster men enough to form a marauding expedition, was known by his enemies as well as by his friends as a king of those countries.

There is even in Great Britain an extensive range of pastoral country, where, till very lately, the social condition of the people was not very different from that of the Assyrians and Arabians in the days of Abraham. The clans of the Scottish highlanders bore a great resemblance to the tribes of the Hebrews and Edomites. Each consisted of a certain number of families, more or less closely united as blood relations, and all acknowledging one common father; whose son or representative became the hereditary chief, throughout all their generations. In war, the descendant of their honoured progenitor discharged the duties of general; in peace, he administered the simple laws which regulated their intercourse and determined their mutual rights. Nor were their treaties with other clans held valid without his concurrence and formal sanction. With reference, again, to the general government of the country, they acknowledged themselves bound to perform a certain homage, and even to render military seryice to the monarch on the throne; but they denied his authority and resisted his power in all matters which concerned the internal arrangements of their own community, and particularly their right to wage war and to make peace with the ancient enemies of their name. The hereditary feuds which subsisted between some of the larger clans occasioned, from time to time, scenes of the most barbarous violence and cruelty; laid waste whole valleys, and

depopulated the surrounding mountains and islands; and, in some instances, to use the expressive words of the widow of Tekoah, finally quenched the coal, and left neither name nor remainder of the family upon the earth. It was customary, too, for the Caledonian Horites, like their venerable prototypes in the East, to descend occasionally from their lofty deserts, and to inflict upon the chiefs or little kings, who dwelt in the plains, all the evils which rage and hunger can visit upon social life when it is at ease. They carried away the flocks and wasted the fields which belonged to their less savage neighbours; insomuch, that these last, finding that no vigilance could protect them against robbers who came upon them as suddenly as the fire of God when it falleth from heaven, consented, like the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah of old, to pay tribute to the Chedorlaomers of the mountains, and thereby to obtain from their cupidity that repose and security which the sovereign of the whole nation could not command.*

As, then, from the petty wars of the individual Hebrew tribes with the contiguous Canaanites, it would be unreasonable to infer that the commonwealth of Israel did not, at the same time, exercise authority over the whole, and could, as in the case of the Benjaminite war, command all their services; and as from the peculiar condition of the Scottish clans, who claimed a species of sovereignty and independence, it would be absurd to conclude that, during the long period of Caledonian anarchy, there was no king in Scotland: so, I maintain that it is equally absurd and unreasonable to pronounce that, be-

* The tribute paid to the highland chiefs for protection or forbearance was usually known by the name of *Black-mail*; an imposition similar to that which was inflicted upon Bera and Birsha.

cause the chiefs of certain predatory bands on the Chaldean and Arabian borders made occasional incursions into the neighbouring fields of Palestine, there could be no sovereign on the throne of Babylon or Nineveh.

At all times the governments of the Asiatic empires have been remarkable for the slight control which they exercised over their vassal and tributary nations. Even at the present day we can discover marks of that lax and feeble sovereignty with which the paramount states were satisfied in reference to the subject tribes. The simple acknowledgment of superiority, and the occasional payment of a tax, constituted the full amount of obeisance which was either asked or given; while nothing was more common than to find the rulers of provinces assuming all the attributes of independence; refusing not only tribute but even military service, and frequently setting at defiance both the authority and the power of the imperial crown. The Turks, descended from an ancient Asiatic race, have brought into Europe these oriental habits; and hence we observe, that, with the highest pretensions to an unrestrained dominion, they hold the reins of government with a slacker and more uncertain hand than any other people westward of the Bosphorus.

We should have witnessed the same results in the political condition of the Hebrews, had they ever become a warlike or even a commercial nation. Had they, in pursuit of wealth or of power, spread themselves over the surrounding countries, and raised every one of their tribes to the magnitude of a kingdom, it is extremely probable that they would, in the end, have exhibited an empire similar to that of Hindostan; consisting of a great number of powerful states, owning one head, but following different interests, and ever ready to fall in pieces at the touch of a disaffected or ambitious rebel.

In examining, therefore, the state of society in the days

of Abraham, we ought not too hastily to reject the testimony of ancient history respecting the existence of an early empire in the rich plains watered by the Tigris and Euphrates, merely because we find that there were, at the same period, several chieftains who probably acknowledged its authority, but who chose, nevertheless, to wage war and to commit robberies. Besides, we should recollect, that, if we follow the chronology of the Samaritan Pentateuch, which places the birth of Abraham 942 years after the Flood, the "battle of the kings" must have occurred several years before Ninus ascended the throne, and consequently before the power of Assyria had attracted to itself the splendour by which it was afterwards distinguished. The nine hundred and forty-second year after the Deluge corresponds to the year B.C. 2243; and as the son of Belus took Babylon and established the imperial throne in B.C. 2126, Abraham could not be less than 117 years of age at the accession of that prince. The chronology of the Septuagint, it is true, by bringing the birth of the patriarch 130 years farther down, places it in the 13th year of Ninus. But whichever of the two schemes we adopt, the active part of Abraham's life will coincide with a very early portion of the Assyrian empire; on which account we are not to be surprised, should we find few tokens of imperial grandeur in the transactions of those early days.

The traditional history of Asia, which appears to have incorporated itself with the annals of more than one of the nations westward of the Indus, ascribes, indeed, to Ninus many splendid victories in the East, and a great accession of territory and of power from the mountains of Armenia to the Persian gulf. But such statements are not to be received without a due allowance for oriental exaggeration, and more especially for that tendency to romance which betrays itself in all popular and oral history. A conquest in the days of Ninus, when the richest part of the globe

was still thinly peopled, when few towns were built and regular fortresses were unknown, could only be compared to the transient passage of a flood; which swept over the face of the country, changed its aspect for a moment, and left it again to resume immediately its former appearance. A large army in those days must have passed, as it were, through an unresisting medium; measuring the dimensions of a country rather than taking possession of it; and showing its power rather than exerting its skill or its valour in actual warfare. In most parts of its course, the military array of Ninus could only encounter wandering herdsmen, or lawless freebooters. Here and there, perhaps, a nomadic village might meet their eyes, or a large enclosed place called a town, surrounded with a wall of mud, and filled with oxen and camels, sheep and asses—the wealth of that primitive order of men who first replenished the extensive provinces of Assyria and Persia.

Avoiding all undue scepticism in regard to ancient times, we may yet use our discretion in reducing to the limits of probability the narratives of the Grecian chroniclers respecting the affairs of Asia. Ctesias found, in the records to which he obtained access, no details or descriptions of the conquests achieved by the first rulers of the great empire; for which reason, his account of the exploits of Ninus is not entitled to more particular consideration or credit than the fables which he has reneated on other subjects, or than the splendid fictions which Herodotus received from the priests of Egypt. His catalogue commands our belief, because it professes to be a copy of public and well-authenticated deeds; but his narrative of events rests upon the general authority of his character, which, owing to his excessive credulity, has never stood very high.*

* "Who can see Ninus at the head of millions of men, at a time when the earth must have been thinly inhabited; when mankind must have been

The learned have been divided in their opinions respecting Chushan-Rishathaim, who, as we are informed in the book of Judges, conquered the Hebrews, and kept them in subjection eight years.* Josephus calls him an Assyrian, and even describes him as king of Assyria; adding, that when the Israelites under Othniel had vanquished him in battle, they drove Chushan and his Assyrians from Canaan, and compelled them to repass the Euphrates.† It is well known to every reader of ancient history, that the Greeks usually confounded the Assyrians with the Syrians; making hardly any distinction between the nations on this side of the Euphrates and those who dwelt beyond it, and even those whose territory was situated eastward of the Tigris. Herodotus remarks, that the people who, by the Greeks, are called Syrians, are by the Barbarians denominated Assyrians.‡ Strabo, too, mentions that Ninus and Semiramis were styled Syrians, and that Nineveh was reckoned the capital of Syria.§ The same language is used by Diodorus Siculus, Homer, Pindar, and Cicero; all of whom used indiscriminately the terms Syrian and Assyrian as applicable to the inhabitants of Western Asia. But the sacred writings always observe the proper distinction between the people now named: and as Chushan, in the book of Judges, is called the king of Mesopotamia, we

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a good deal in a state of simplicity and nature? who can read this assertion without arraigning the historian of falsehood and forgery? Or who can praise his history of Semiramis; her mighty valour and heroic deeds at the age of twenty or thereabouts; her two millions of men employed in the building of Babylon; her three hundred thousand skins of black oxen made up in the form of elephants, and other things of this nature; and not conclude, that what contained it was no genuine history, but a most barefaced romance? In a word, his Assyrian history is most evidently calculated to astonish and amaze, and to strain credulity beyond all possible bounds."—*Ancient Universal History*, vol. iii. p. 336, 8vo edit.

* Judges, iii. 8. † Antiq. Jud. lib. v. c. 3.

‡ Herodot. lib. vii. c. 63. Ὗτοι δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἐκαλέοντο Σύροι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων Ἀσσύριοι ἐκλήθησαν.

§ Geog. lib. ii. Τῆς δὲ Σεμιράμιδος καὶ τοῦ Νίνου Σύρων λεγομένων.

may be certain that the inspired author did not mean to assert that the oppressor of the Hebrews was the monarch of Assyria, the seat of whose power was at Nineveh.

"The kings of Assyria," as Jackson observes, "were never called kings of Mesopotamia;" nor do we ever read of any king of Mesopotamia after the Assyrians had conquered that country. This kingdom of Mesopotamian Syria was afterwards divided into many lesser kingdoms, which became subject to the Syrian kingdoms on this side of the Euphrates, at Zobah and Damascus. These were the kingdoms of *Syria Damascena*, between the mountains of Libanus and Anti-libanus, and *Aram Zobah* in Cœle-syria. The latter of these principalities seems to be alluded to in the fourteenth chapter of the first book of Samuel; where it is said, that "Saul took the kingdom over Israel, and fought against all his enemies on every side, against Moab, and against the children of Ammon, and against Edom, and against the kings of Zobah, and against the Philistines." The same kingdom, in the reign of David, seems to have comprehended, either as confederated or tributary, the Mesopotamian Syria as well as that portion of the country which belonged to Damascus; the Aram Dammasek of some authors, and the Syria Damascena of others: For after the king of Israel had conquered the Jebusites, and taken from them the fortress of mount Zion, he is said to have waged war with Hadad-Ezer, king of Zobah, and subdued him and the Syrians of Damascus who assisted him, at the river Euphrates.*

At all events, there is reason to conclude, that, in the times of the Hebrew judges, the Assyrians did not exercise a direct dominion over any part of the upper Asia, or of

* 2 Samuel, chap. x. 6—16, &c.

Mesopotamia, or over any one of the several kingdoms which were situated westward of the Euphrates. Whether, indeed, there subsisted between these states and the throne of Nineveh any relations corresponding to those of superior and vassal, or of patron and client, it would be vain to inquire, because we have no means of determining. It is more probable, upon the whole, that the king of Mesopotamia was at the head of an independent and sovereign state, as were also the kings of Damascus and Zobah; because, had they possessed any claim upon the assistance of the Assyrian monarch, we cannot discover a reason why, during the victorious career of David and Solomon, the imperial armies were not occasionally sent into Syria to protect the interests of their dependants and allies. Had the Assyrians enjoyed any degree of authority in the kingdoms of Mesopotamia or Damascus, they must have been brought into contact with the Hebrew princes long before the reign of Menahem.

On the basis of these facts, Jackson thinks himself entitled to rest a conclusion, with which, indeed, his theory is closely connected, namely, that "the Assyrian kings had made no conquests in Mesopotamia, or on this side the Euphrates, in Syria and Phenicia, till about 1246 after Ninus began to reign. We find," says he, "in the history of Scripture, that Mesopotamia and Syria had very anciently kings of their own, who were powerful on this side the river Euphrates: and we find, in the same history, when it was that those countries became subject to the Assyrian empire, and that they were not conquered or so much as invaded by the the kings of Assyria till the year before Christ 770."*

I find very little difference of opinion among historians

* Chronological Antiquities, vol. i. p. 205.

and chronographers relative to the point now stated. From Diodorus Siculus, downwards, every writer on Assyrian affairs has acknowledged that, during the lapse of ten or twelve centuries, nothing worthy of notice was performed by the successors of Ninus. Withdrawing themselves from the public eye, they chose to administer the laws and preserve the peace of the country by means of subordinate officers; who represented in the capital, as well as in the provinces, the vigilance and authority of the monarch. The example of Ninyas, in this respect, appears to have been followed by a great number of his descendants.

But we are not to imagine that cowardice or an aversion to business was the sole cause of that seclusion which rendered the person of an Assyrian prince almost entirely unknown to his subjects. On the contrary, the arrangements made by Ninyas for the government of his kingdom indicate a degree of political wisdom and foresight which could not be matured in a feeble and licentious mind. Diodorus informs us, that he drew from every province a certain number of troops, who continued only one year in arms, and were usually encamped in the neighbourhood of the great city. When their period of service expired, the soldiers were relieved, and allowed to return to their native country; while a fresh body of recruits was ordered up to supply their place in the camp at Nineveh.

In this way the sovereign found himself always surrounded with a powerful force, devoted to his service and under his immediate command; while the military chiefs, who were brought together from different regions, and who spoke different languages, found it impossible, in the short space of a year, to enter into any combination or conspiracy against his government. He was satisfied that little union or confidence could exist between the Bactrian and the Babylonian, or between the polished Syrian

and the barbarian of mount Caucasus. But even the possibility of combination was to be avoided: and accordingly, when the services of the year were terminated, the commanders were dispersed over the whole empire, probably to meet no more.*

The life and actions of Ninyas, as Sir William Drummond observes, were enveloped in obscurity. Inaccessible to strangers; communicating only in private with the chiefs of the state and of the army, and surrounded during his hours of relaxation by eunuchs and concubines, the great monarch of Assyria seldom, or perhaps never, showed himself in public. The fears, the ignorance, and the superstition of the people, probably guided by the artifices of the priests, soon elevated the invisible prince to the rank of a god; and we find few of the successors of Ninyas, whose names do not import that those who had borne them had been admitted to the honours of the apotheosis.†

Pursuing this cautious policy, of which we may suppose the good effects soon rendered themselves apparent, the kings of Assyria abstained alike from foreign conquest and from domestic innovation. Their names, indeed, are connected with so few of those events which give interest to the page of history, that Diodorus has omitted to record them; passing at once from Ninyas to that unfortunate member of his family who, as the Sicilian annalist believed, lost at once his crown and his life in the ruins of his capital. It is, therefore, extremely probable that the Hebrews, in the days of their Judges, never felt the power of the Assyrian's rod; and that Chushan-Rishathaim was

* Diod. Sicul. lib. ii. c. 21, and Sir W. Drummond's Origines, vol. i. p. 290.

† Origines, vol. i. p. 293.

only the sovereign of one of those smaller kingdoms which were scattered over Syria and the upper part of Mesopotamia.

Dr Hales, adopting the sentiments of certain pious commentators on the Old Testament, seems to think that there was something miraculous in the abstinence of the Assyrian monarchs respecting the land of Canaan. "By a signal providence," says he, "the mighty Assyrian power was restrained and kept within its proper bounds, eastward of the river Euphrates, in order, we may presume, that it should not interfere with the divine grant of the promised land to the Israelites, from the great river Euphrates northwards to the river Nile southwards, and from Arabia eastwards to the great sea or Mediterranean westwards, during the whole time of its accomplishment; at first by Moses and Joshua, and afterwards by Saul, David, and Solomon. But when the Israelites grew great and prosperous, and waxed wanton and corrupt, and forgot the Lord their God, and fell into rebellion and idolatry; then, as they had been repeatedly warned by Moses and the prophets, and not before, '*God stirred the spirit of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings against them*' in succession, until both kingdoms of Israel and Judah were overthrown, and the whole nation carried into captivity."*

It may, perhaps, be urged against the chronological scheme which I have adopted, and which carries the origin of the Assyrian monarchy up to the twenty-first century before Christ, that I have just admitted the very facts upon which Marsham, Newton, and others, endeavoured to establish their opinion, that the Assyrian empire did not begin to exist till a short time before the accession of Pul,

* Analysis of Ancient Chronology, vol. iii. p. 57, 58.

or about eight hundred years prior to the Christian era. You allow, it might be remarked, that in the sacred writings no mention is made of the Assyrian empire during the long period of the Hebrew commonwealth, nor until more than three centuries after the reign of David; and, in making this concession, you deprive yourself of the only satisfactory ground on which you can ever hope to secure our belief, for the existence of the kingdom said to have been founded before the days of Abraham, by Ninus, the son of Belus.

In reply to such observations it might reasonably be stated, that the silence of Scripture proves nothing more than that, during the interval in question, the Assyrians had no intercourse, whether in peace or war, with the Hebrew people; whose affairs alone employed the pen of the inspired historian. In the whole book of Judges, as well as in the two which bear the name of Samuel, the narrative of which embraces a period of nearly six hundred years, no allusion is made to Egypt, the country with which, above all others, the Israelites were best acquainted; and it is not until the days of Solomon that we find the kingdom of the Pharaohs noticed as occupying a place in the geographical chart of Jewish writers. But such an omission will not warrant the inference, that during six centuries the power of Egypt was extinct. The Grecian kingdoms and republics, too, had, in the meanwhile, established their foundations, and begun to awaken an interest along the western shores of Asia; but of these celebrated communities no trace can be found in the earlier part of the sacred volume. The monarchies of India and China are equally unnoticed in the Hebrew annals; but we are not thence to infer that no government was formed in the great eastern continent until after the canon of Scripture was completed, or that civil society had made

no progress in Europe before the captivity of Judah and of Israel. The mere silence of the sacred page, therefore, is not to be held conclusive against the existence of the ancient Assyrian empire; and more especially when we are assured by a pagan author that, during the very period to which our attention is now directed, the sovereigns of that country pursued a pacific policy, and sought not either to distinguish their reigns or to extend their borders by means of warlike expeditions.

But we are not compelled to place our whole reliance upon this negative argument. The Scripture does, in fact, mention the Assyrian empire, or, at least, the formation of a political society with a regular government, at a very early period after the Flood. The erection of such cities as Nineveh, Rehoboth, Calah, and Resen, implies the existence not only of a considerable population in those parts of the earth, but also of laws, municipal institutions, and even of those gradations of rank and authority which always accompany the progress of civilized life. Besides, the sacred annalist who relates the particulars now mentioned, informs us, in the very same page, that the beginning of regal power had already been established at Babel: and, if we may be allowed to draw any inference from the connexion of the several parts of the narrative, we may reasonably conclude that the object which Nimrod is said to have accomplished in his settlement on the Euphrates, was meditated by Ashur when he went out to found a nation on the margin of the Tigris.*

That Assyria had acquired a formidable name before the children of Israel left Egypt, may be learned from the prediction of Balaam relative to the fate of the Kenites,

* Genesis x. 11, 12.

a people of Arabia. "And he looked on the Kenites, and took up his parable and said, Strong is thy dwelling-place, and thou puttest thy nest in a rock. Nevertheless the Kenite shall be wasted, until Ashur shall carry thee away captive."* From this prophecy we must admit either that the Assyrians were known as a powerful nation in the days of Balaam, or that the whole passage was fabricated after the Babylonian captivity, when the might of Ashur had been felt by the Jews themselves: For it is absurd to imagine that the southsayer, in his prophetic description, would use the name of a kingdom which had then no existence, and which indeed we are desired to believe did not begin to exist till nearly a thousand years afterwards. Some author has observed, in respect to this matter, that we cannot but admire so much the more the power of the spirit in Balaam, inasmuch as he did not only foretell a future event, but even specified the agent through whose means it was to be brought to pass, although that agent was not to have any being for many hundred years.† But if the son of Beor spoke of a people who were not yet in existence, his language must have been perfectly unintelligible to the prince of Moab, to whom it was first addressed, and not less destitute of meaning when repeated to the Hebrews by their Divine lawgiver. We are, therefore, entitled to conclude that Ashur or Assyria had already risen to some eminence as a warlike nation, and also that her power was not unknown to the eloquent seer who had come from Aram out of the mountains of the East.‡

* Numbers xxiv. 21, 22.

† I have mislaid the reference to this passage, but am sure that it is to be found in some one of the Commentators.

‡ Numbers xxiii. 7.

Nor does there appear to be any inconsistency in maintaining that the Assyrian empire may have possessed all the antiquity ascribed to it by Ctesias, and in admitting at the same time that, until a period comparatively recent, the monarchs of Assyria did not extend their arms towards either the west or the north. The opinion of Dionysius of Halicarnassus in this particular seems to combine both views, while it confirms the soundness of each. "The ancient empire of the Assyrians," says he, "though it reaches back to the fabulous ages, occupied but a moderate portion of Asia,"—a remark which at once recognizes the chronological canon of Ctesias and the historical statement of Herodotus.*

Anquetil du Perron has inserted, in the fortieth volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions, an essay of considerable research and learning; the main object of which is to reconcile the apparent discrepancy which is known to exist in the works of Ctesias and of Herodotus. That he has failed in his attempt is chiefly owing to the bewildering effect of the principle which he followed, and which would not permit him to separate the revolution or change of dynasty which took place in the time of Arbaces, from the revolt in the year B.C. 710, the epoch, as it has been thought, of Median independence. But, without recurring again to this subject, which has already occupied too much of our attention, I take leave to observe, that the position of Herodotus will be fully reconciled with the record of Ctesias, so soon as we allow ourselves to perceive that the one spoke of the entire duration of the

* Nam antiquum illud Assyriorum imperium retro ad fabulosa usque pertingens tempora modicam quandam Asiæ partem obtinuit. Deinde in Medos translatum, &c.—*Antiq. Rom.* lib. i. c. 2. *Ex versione Gelenii. Hanoviæ* 1615.

Assyrian royalty, the other of the period during which it embraced a certain portion of Asia.

Resuming at length the topic from which the above remarks must be considered as a digression, we are forced to acknowledge that history supplies us with no means of determining satisfactorily, whether the fierce Chushan Rishathaim was an independent sovereign, or merely a general or satrap under the monarch of Assyria. Freret tells us, that he is very much inclined to regard Chushan as a military chief holding a command in the Assyrian province of *Aram Naharaim;* and, moreover, that, in the course of the expedition directed against the Hebrews, he likewise subdued the Kenites, the Arabian tribe whose evil day had been foretold by Balaam. This leader having been defeated and slain by Othniel, the Assyrians are supposed by the learned Academician to have renounced all thought of keeping possession of Palestine; for which reason there is no more mention made of them in the Bible till the time of Uzziah, king of Judah, and of Menahem, king of Israel, about 250 years after the dedication of the temple.

David and Solomon, he farther remarks, not only defeated several kings of Syria, but even carried their victorious arms as far as the city of Thapsacus, and to the very banks of the Euphrates. David, moreover, vanquished a body of troops drawn from Mesopotamia, whom the king of the Ammonites had called to his assistance; and yet no notice is taken of the monarchs of Assyria, either in the history of the son of Jesse or of his successors for more than 250 years: whether it be that this empire was destroyed, or at least weakened, by some revolution which had favoured the revolt of the southern provinces; or whether the softness and incapacity of the princes at

that time on the throne made them neglect the defence of their frontiers. The wars which the tributary kings of Mesopotamia and of Syria had to maintain against the Hebrews were not, he supposes, of sufficiently great importance in the eyes of those effeminate monarchs, to disturb the repose which they enjoyed at Nineveh. The silence of Scripture respecting the kings of Assyria certainly proves that they had no immediate quarrel with the Jews before the days of Menahem; and, consequently, that their empire had not in the reign of David the extent which Ctesias and other writers assign to it. But to conclude, from these facts, that the Assyrian monarchy did not exist at all in the times of the first Hebrew princes, or even that it did not flourish at a much earlier period, would betray a species of logic equally irregular and unsatisfactory.*

Dr Hales had the merit, such as it is, of devising a scheme whereby all difficulties were removed and all chronological calculations entirely superseded. He introduced, with a single movement of his pen, an *interregnum*, as he chose to call it, of 985 years; during which, we are instructed to believe, there were no kings in Assyria. He adopts the same method with regard to Persia; for, after having allowed to that country a dynasty of eleven sovereigns from Kaiumarath to Gershab, which occupied a space exceeding five centuries, he at once inserts a blank of more than a thousand years; which he properly acknowledges to be *a very long interregnum*. But, unfortunately for Dr Hales's scheme, he finds it necessary to put an end to the Assyrian interregnum, and to set a fresh dynasty on the throne, at a time when no history, sacred or profane,

* Essai sur l'Histoire et la Chronologie des Assyriens de Ninive. Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, vol. v. p. 336.

except the very one which he has rejected, affords the slightest hint that there was any king whatever in the land of Ashur. From B.C. 2237, down to B.C. 1252, the crown of Assyria, he believes, was in abeyance; the title of sovereign was dormant; although, according to the best historians and chronographers, it was during the earlier part of that same interval that Ninus, his wife, and his son, swayed the sceptre of Nineveh and laid the foundations of their extensive empire. But, admitting the interregnum, the reader must be disposed to ask, as I suggested in the foregoing chapter, what political event occurred in Assyria about the middle of the thirteenth century before Christ, which has any claim to be regarded as the commencement of a new era? The year 1230 before the epoch of redemption nearly coincides with the judicature of Ibzan, one of the Hebrew judges; at which time there appeared no symptom of reviving strength in the government of Assyria, either upon the Euphrates or in the upper districts of Mesopotamia. So far, therefore, as we shall consent to be guided in our opinions by the facts of ancient history, and more particularly of sacred history, we must admit that no reason can be alleged for rejecting the first twenty-four kings in the Ctesian list, which might not be employed for cancelling the remaining twelve.

Herodotus, it is true, has distinctly asserted, that the Assyrians had governed upper Asia not more than 520 years at the time when their empire was weakened by the revolt of the Medes,—an event which is usually thought to have occurred about the year B.C. 710. The joint sum of these two numbers amounts to 1230; and hence several chronologers of the present day seem inclined to fix the origin of the Assyrian monarchy and the reign of Ninus at that particular epoch. There is, at least, an air of consistency in the conclusions of those writers who ac-

knowledge no empire on the Tigris before the date indicated by Herodotus; and as, by this abbreviated scheme, we should be deprived of nothing more than a bare list of names, the interest and satisfaction enjoyed by the historical reader would not be greatly diminished. But Dr Hales halts between the two systems. He cannot consent to relinquish the ancient monarchy, and yet he agrees with those who maintain that there are no traces of its existence; wherefore, to accommodate all differences, he introduces his moderate interregnum of a thousand years, and then sets out with a new dynasty.

Like all half-measures, that of Dr Hales is a bad one. It is at once so inconsistent and improbable, that most readers would give a decided preference to the curtailed scheme of Marsham and Newton, and adopt the belief that, until the days of Pul, there was neither king nor government in Assyria. He does not even adopt entirely the modified views of Dr Gillies, whose reasoning, it would appear, induced him to depart from the track marked out by Ctesias.

This modern writer maintains that there were two cities called Nineveh; one on the eastern bank of the Tigris, opposite to the spot where Mosul now stands, and another in the Babylonian plain, at an equal distance from the two great rivers by which that plain is watered. The latter, he remarks, was the capital of Ninus; who, in the middle of the thirteenth century before the Christian era, is said to have overrun a great part of Asia, and, finally, to have adopted measures for holding in subjection many cities and provinces east of the Euphrates, flourishing in arts and industry, and long connected with each other in commercial intercourse.* "He was succeeded on the throne by Semi-

* History of Greece, part the second, vol. i. p. 87, edition 1820.

ramis, who, in her turn, handed the sceptre to Ninyas their son; the policy of which last sovereign was adopted and maintained for the space of four centuries by a line of seventeen princes, whose mild and pacific reigns, leaving no traces of blood behind them, have escaped the notice of history.* At the end of that period, Pul, king of Nineveh, and the eighteenth successor of Ninyas, assumed the command of his own armies, and, crossing the Euphrates, levied contributions in Syria. His son, Tiglathpileser, conquered Damascus, a Syrian city of great antiquity and opulence, slew its king, Rezin, and carried the most distinguished portion of his subjects into captivity."†

It must have been observed that Dr Hales, instead of boldly following Dr Gillies, and bringing down Ninus and his heroic queen to the middle of the thirteenth century before the vulgar era, chooses again to make a compromise with difficulties. He cuts off from the catalogue of Ctesias the names of the last twelve kings which the Greek physician had compiled; and, changing the first of them into Ninus the second, places him on the throne in the year B.C. 1252 as the founder of a new dynasty, which continues to govern the Assyrians during the long period of 431 years.‡

It is obvious, therefore, that the authority of Herodotus, supported only by the borrowed testimony of Appian and of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, is the sole warrant and guide to those modern writers, who date the origin of Nineveh and of the Assyrian empire about 1230 years before the birth of Christ,—an epoch, I must once more repeat, which presents no memorial in history to confirm

* History of Greece, part the second, vol. i. p. 95.
† Ibid. pages 95, 96.
‡ Analysis of Ancient Chronology, vol. iii. p. 54.

the distinction which has been so perseveringly bestowed upon it. Nay, upon a full review of all the circumstances attending the two cases, it appears less improbable that an ambitious prince should have overrun the central parts of Asia, twenty centuries before the reign of Augustus, and finally employed his warriors in the erection of a city or stronghold on the banks of the Tigris, than that a similar character a thousand years afterwards should subdue the finest regions and most powerful nations in the world, and yet leave among his contemporaries no impression by which, in future times, his progress might be traced. An occasion will hereafter occur for inquiring into the soundness of the opinion entertained by Dr Gillies relative to the situation of Nineveh, as well as in regard to the question whether there ever were in Assyria two cities which bore that name; meanwhile, it may be asserted that the general current of history, not less than the actual condition of society in Syria and Mesopotamia, at the time when the kingly government commenced among the Hebrews, oppose an insuperable obstacle to our belief that the Assyrian empire could either have originated, or received any considerable increase, at so late a period. Syncellus relates that, in the time of Abraham, Ninus and Semiramis ruled over the whole of Asia,—an exaggerated expression, no doubt, but which at least marks the date of Assyrian power.* Constantine Manasses, in like manner, has recorded in his annals, that Belus the father of Ninus was contemporary with the same patriarch; that he governed the Assyrians, and was after his death respected and worshipped as a god, under the name of Chronus or Saturn.† The authority of Plato, also, has

* Κατα τουτον Ασσυριας και της Ασιας πασης ἐβασιλευσεν Νινος, και Σεμιραμις ὁμου.—*Syncelli Chronographia*, p. 87.

† Annales, p. 53, cited by Jackson, vol. i. p. 261.

been adduced in support of the same views. In the third book of his Laws, he asserts that the people of Assyria governed a great part of Asia several ages before the Trojan war,—a remark which at least indicates the tradition which prevailed on that subject in the learned world, four centuries prior to the Christian era.* We may, therefore, conclude that, if there are difficulties in the chronological system which assumes the greater antiquity of the Assyrian empire, there are not fewer in the hypothesis which leads us to seek its origin only 1230 years before the revelation of Christianity; because, if it appears unreasonable to suppose that the power of such a kingdom should during so many centuries have been confined by the Syrian desert on the west, there is certainly not less improbability in the opinion that, in the full tide of its youth and vigour, it should have restricted itself four or five hundred years to the same limits, and not once have attempted to extend its borders towards Egypt and the Mediterranean sea. In a word, the inactivity of the Assyrian kings, from the thirteenth to the eighth century before Christ, is more consistent with the supposed antiquity of their race, and with the soft and effeminate manners by which they were distinguished, than with the notion of a conquering dynasty which had just started up to grasp the sceptre of Asia, and to reduce to the condition of vassals all the tribes of the east and of the west.†

* Πλατωνος Νομων, Γ. p. 532, edit. Basileæ, 1534.

† To avoid the appearance of controversy, I present the argument of Dr Gillies in a note. "It is generally said that the empire of the Assyrians began before the days of Abram; that it extended over all southern Asia; that its capital was Nineveh in Atur, the eastern district beyond the Tigris; and that this capital, now the seat of the modern Mosul, subsisted with the empire itself thirteen hundred years, from the triumphs of Ninus and Semiramis to the voluptuous reign of Sardanapalus, who was destroyed by his provincial governors, Belesys the Babylonian, and Arbaces the Mede,

The king of Mesopotamia was the first instrument employed by Divine Providence for punishing the ingratitude and idolatry of the chosen people. Being delivered by the valour of Othniel from a painful servitude of eight years, the Hebrews enjoyed a long interval of repose and prosperity; but, not having yet learned how to reconcile good fortune with innocence, they relapsed once more into their superstitious usages, worshipped the gods of the nations among whom they dwelt, and provoked again the anger of Jehovah. A people whose wisdom and piety never returned but with affliction, could only be reformed by the severity of their taskmasters; for which reason "the Lord strengthened Elon the king of Moab against

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seven hundred and forty-seven years before the Christian era. Not to mention that the wonderful stability of the dynasty of Ninus, during the space of thirteen hundred years, is incompatible with the varied revolutions in southern Asia during all succeeding periods, and those stubborn causes above explained, from which such perpetual changes have never ceased to flow, this early, extensive, and durable monarchy is so totally inconsistent with the divided state of the ancient world, as represented in sacred and profane authors, that the great Newton and his few followers in chronology are solicitous to reject the whole story as fictitious, and to reckon the era of Nineveh as a seat of empire, to begin about the same time that other chronologers have thought fit to end it. According to this less extravagant system, the first great Assyrian conqueror was Pul, who appeared in that lofty character, seven hundred and seventy-one years before Christ, interposing with a strong arm in the affairs of Syria, and by the plenitude of his power confirming the murderous Menahem in the usurped kingdom of Israel. But even this system of Newton's is invalidated by the best Greek historians, and overthrown by the authority of Scripture, which describes Nineveh, in the century before Pul, with the same characteristic majesty in which that capital comes forward twelve hundred years before Christ, in profane authors, as a city of wonderful extent, and still more wonderful populousness, and the seat of a mighty monarch, whose measures of government were concerted in the council of his princes and ministers. That such a dominion subsisted twelve hundred years before Christ at Mosul, and uninterruptedly continued there for many following centuries, is disproved by the strongest evidence. The great Nineveh, therefore, could not occupy the site usually assigned to it," &c.

After this, the learned historiographer goes on to prove that Ninus built the proper Nineveh about B.C. 1230, and founded the only Assyrian empire which is known to Greek authors.—*Vol. i. part ii. p.* 77.

Israel, because they had done evil in the sight of the Lord. And he gathered unto him the children of Ammon and Amalek, and went and smote Israel and possessed the city of palm trees. So the children of Israel served Eglon, the king of Moab, eighteen years.*

I. The origin of the MOABITES can be traced to that painful occurrence in the history of Lot, which is mentioned by the sacred writer in the nineteenth chapter of Genesis. In process of time we find the descendants of this patriarch in possession of a considerable tract of country on the borders of Arabia, which they appear to have used principally for the feeding of cattle, the favourite property of all the Hebrew tribes. Owing, it is probable, to the relationship which subsisted between the Moabites and the children of Israel, the latter, when on their march from Egypt to Canaan, were forbidden to waste their lands or to injure their persons.† But this forbearance on the part of Moses did not remove the apprehensions of Balak, the prince of the district; who, despairing of being able to repel by force of arms so powerful a body of invaders, had recourse to supernatural arts, with the view of breaking their strength in the field of battle. Perhaps the defeat which they had recently sustained from the king of the Amorites, depressed at this time the spirits and weakened the hands of the Moabitic shepherds.‡ At all events, they had more confidence in the wicked policy suggested

* Judges iii. 12, 13, 14.

† Deut. ii. 8, 9. And when we passed by from our brethren the children of Esau, which dwelt in Seir, through the way of the plain from Elath, and from Ezion-geber, we turned, and passed by the way of the wilderness of Moab. And the Lord said unto me, Distress not the Moabites, neither contend with them in battle; for I will not give thee of their land for a possession; because I have given Ar unto the children of Lot for a possession.

‡ Numbers xxi. 28.

to them by the soothsayer, than in the goodness of their cause or the skill of their warriors. The miserable issue of Balaam's counsel is known to every reader of Scripture. The hand of God, too, was heavy upon the Israelites for their repeated transgressions in the licentious worship of Baal-peor; while they, in their turn, took revenge on the children of Moab, and particularly on the Midianites, both of whom had lent themselves to the accomplishment of the nefarious plan recommended by the prophet of Mesopotamia.

After the lapse of seventy or eighty years, the Moabites under Eglon their king had acquired so much strength, that, upon entering into an alliance with the people of Ammon and Amalek, they found themselves equal to an invasion of the united tribes of Israel. The stratagem of Ehúd, by which the yoke of Moab was subsequently broken, has been described in a former chapter; and the victory which was immediately afterwards gained by the same chief, at the city of palm trees, appears to have so completely reduced their military resources, that they did not again lift arms against the Hebrews all the days of the Judges. On the contrary, there is some ground for believing that the friendly sentiments which Moses wished to preserve between his people and the Moabites, revived after this period; for we read that when a sore famine oppressed the country of the Hebrews, some of them went down to sojourn in the land of Moab, where they were received with much kindness, and allowed to remain until Jehovah visited his people in giving them bread.*

But in the reign of Saul, war was renewed between these two kindred nations. When the monarch now named was confirmed in his kingdom, he fought against all his ene-

* Ruth i. 1—6.

mies on every side, against Moab, and against the children of Ammon, and against Edom, and against the kings of Zobah, and against the Philistines; and hence it was that when David found it necessary to flee from the face of his royal master, he took refuge among the Moabites, and even placed in their hands the care of his father and mother, until his affairs should take a more prosperous turn.*

But the confidence which David reposed in the people of Moab ceased upon the full establishment of his power as king of Israel. Adopting the quarrel of his predecessor, he not only subdued them in battle, but inflicted upon the captives a punishment so excessively severe, that the feelings of a more humane and civilized age revolt at the recital. "He smote Moab," says the Scripture, "and measured them with a line, casting them down to the ground; even with two lines measured he to put to death, and with one full line to keep alive;" that is, he condemned two-thirds of his prisoners to be massacred with the sword, and reserved the remainder to waste their lives in servitude.†

The weight of this defeat continued to bear down the

* 1 Samuel xiv. 47, and xxii. 3.

† It seems to have been a custom in the East to order the prisoners of war to lie down, and to measure by a line such of them as they meant to put to death.—*Universal History*, vol. i. p. 352.

Bishop Patrick thinks, that, by the phrase *measuring with a line*, we are to understand that David, "having conquered the whole country, took an exact survey of every part of it; and that by *casting to the ground* was meant the laying level their strongholds and fortified places. *With two lines measured he, to put to death*, that is, he divided the country into three parts, condemning two of them to be destroyed: *And with one line he saved alive*; that is, he preserved a third part that it might not be quite dispeopled. This severity, the Jews say, he exercised because they had slain his parents and his brethren whom he committed to the custody of the king of Moab during his exile. But, in truth, because the Moabites had always been implacable enemies to the Israelites. Their kindness to David proceeded from their hatred to Saul."—*Commentary upon the Second Book of Samuel*, chap. viii. v. 2.

Moabites during the reigns of Solomon and Rehoboam, to both of whom they appear to have paid a regular tribute. Upon the revolt of the ten tribes, this vassal state transferred its duty to the house of Israel, which failed not to exact from its successive princes the annual token of submission and dependence. One of these petty sovereigns, whose name was Mesha, and who is described in the sacred text as a "sheep-master," rendered unto the king of Israel a hundred thousand lambs, and a hundred thousand rams with the wool. But when Ahab was dead, Mesha rebelled against his son Ahaziah; whose short reign not permitting any attempt to reduce him, Jehoram, assisted by Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, and the king of Edom, undertook an expedition through part of the Arabian desert, with the view of surprising the Moabite, and chastising him for his defection. Having reached the land of Moab, the army was distressed for want of water, and must have perished, had not the prophet Elisha obtained for them a miraculous supply, by intersecting the plain with deep ditches. An optical deception, too, hastened the discomfiture of Mesha and his followers. The water which had issued from the earth presented to their eyes the appearance of blood; upon which they instantly concluded that the confederated princes had fallen upon one another with the sword, and dyed the sand of the wilderness with their mutual slaughter. "And they rose early in the morning, and the sun shone upon the water, and the Moabites saw the water on the other side as red as blood: And they said this is blood: the kings are surely slain; and they have smitten one another; now, therefore, Moab, to the spoil."*

* 2 Kings, iii. 21, 22. The phenomenon mentioned in the text has nowhere been fully explained. That it was different from the *mirage* so well

Under this impression they rushed towards the camp of Israel, to complete the havoc which, as they imagined, dissension had already begun, and to load themselves with an easy plunder. But they were received by an enemy quite prepared for the attack; who at once drove back their disorderly ranks, and, pursuing them into the very heart of their country, wasted their lands, demolished their cities, and shut up their king in Kir-haraseth, a strong place to which he had fled for refuge. Finding himself closely pressed by the besiegers, the barbarian chief resolved, at the head of seven hundred chosen men, to break through the lines of the Edomites, whom he esteemed the least warlike or the least hostile of the confederates, and to maintain his independence among the fastnesses of his native desert. But his courage or strength proved unequal to the attempt; upon which, he had recourse to one of those acts of cruel superstition which stain the records of all savage nations. "He took his eldest son that should

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known to the travellers in the desert, is evident from the facts of the narrative itself, which ascribe the deception to the reflection of the sunbeams from the water which had spread over the valley, and not to the shining surface of a sandy plain, which never presents the colour of blood. Chardin alludes to the common appearance, when he observes, that "there is a splendour or vapour in the plains of the desert, formed by the repercussion of the rays of the sun from the sand, that appears like a vast lake. Travellers of the desert afflicted with thirst are drawn on by such appearances, but coming near, find themselves quite mistaken: it seems to draw back as they advance, or quite vanishes. I have seen this in several places. Quintus Curtius takes notice of it in speaking of Alexander the Great in Susiana."—*M.S. note quoted by Harmer*, vol. ii. p. 282.

It is a singular fact, established by the observations of the late Dr Oudeney and other travellers in Africa, that, in many places where rain is scarcely ever known to fall, and where the surface of the earth is covered with a fine sand, water may be found by scraping or digging a few inches downwards. A hole dug at night will be nearly full in the morning; but the water is brackish and discoloured, being impregnated with the solution of various saline matters. Such a liquid, if spread over a plain, might perhaps exhibit such a reflection of coloured light as that alluded to by the inspired historian,

have reigned in his stead, and offered him up for a burnt-offering upon the wall;" which barbarous deed excited so much horror and indignation in his enemies, that they raised the siege and returned home.*

But no long time intervened before the children of Moab once more recruited their forces, and in company with the Ammonites and the Edomites of Mount Seir, endeavoured to revenge the losses which they had sustained during the invasion of Jehoram. Ascribing the success which attended the arms of the Israelitish king to the military talent of his ally the sovereign of Judah, they resolved to attack the latter with their whole force, before he could be apprised of their movements. In this they so far succeeded, that they had advanced within thirty miles of his capital before the alarm reached his ears. "Then there came some that told Jehoshaphat, saying, there cometh a great multitude against thee from beyond the sea on this side Syria; and behold they be in Hazazontamar, which is Engedi." But Jerusalem was saved by the interposition of Divine Providence. The invaders were seized with a violent phrenzy, which impelled them to employ their arms against one another; and thus, while every man's hand was turned against his fellow, the slaughter continued with such incredible fury, that no one was permitted to escape.†

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* 2 Kings iii. 26, 27. In the common English version of the Bible, it is said that "there was great *indignation against Israel*; and they departed from him and returned to their own land." But the true meaning is certainly that which is supplied by Bishop Patrick, who observes, that the passage should be translated there was great *repentance* upon or among Israel; that is, they were extremely sorry and troubled at this barbarous sacrifice, and wished they had not pushed on the war so far, which ended in such a horrible action, which brought an odium upon them.—*Commentary on Second Kings*, chap. iii.; vol. ii. p. 457.

† 2 Chronicles xx. 22—26.

After this period we do not find that the Moabites disturbed the kingdom of Israel for a great many years. On the declension of that state, indeed, they seem to have retaken from the tribes of Reuben and Gad great part of the land which had belonged to them before the invasion of Sihon; for in the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah against Moab, several cities in those territories are mentioned as being in the possession of this people. The former of the holy men now named predicted that Ar, and Kir-haraseth, and Sibmah, and Heshbon, should be destroyed, and that the rest of their cities, several of which had belonged to the crown of Israel, should be brought to contempt and desolation.*

After the destruction of the Assyrian army under Sennacherib, the Moabites repeatedly revolted from his successors, and were as often reduced to obedience, until at length they were finally subdued by Nebuchadnezzar, who carried away their king a prisoner. They made, indeed, one attempt more to recover their freedom in the reign of Zedekiah, when they were induced to take arms against the Babylonian monarch. But the undertaking only hastened the catastrophe of Judah, and rivetted still faster the chains of Moab and of the neighbouring nations; soon after which this restless people were compelled to relinquish their name and independence, and to sink down among the multifarious subjects of the great eastern empire. Josephus, it is true, makes mention of them as existing in later times, and assures us that they were a considerable nation even in his own day. He describes a victory which was gained over them by Alexander Jannæus, the king of the Jews, who had marched into

* Isaiah xv. 1.; xvi. 7.

Arabia at the head of a large army; but it is manifest, notwithstanding, that the Jewish historian applied, in this part of his writings, the language of antiquity to a people who no longer bore any resemblance to the simple tribe who had listened to the incantations of Balaam the son of Beor.*

II. The next people with whom the history of the Hebrews makes us acquainted are the CANAANITES; a powerful and warlike race, who gave their name to a large portion of Palestine, and resisted with great spirit and perseverance the invasion of their country by Joshua. They are supposed to have derived their lineage as well as their appellation from Canaan the grandson of Noah; and to have branched out at a very early period into eleven tribes or nations, according to the number of the immediate descendants of their celebrated ancestor. The Sidonians, the Hittites, the Jebusites, the Amorites, the Girgashites, the Hivites, the Arkites, the Sinites, the Arvadites, the Zemarites, and the Hemathites, represented so many sons of Canaan, and perpetuated their names in various parts of Palestine and Syria. Five of these clans are known to have dwelt in the land of Canaan properly so called, the Hittites, the Jebusites, the Amorites, the Girgashites, and the Hivites; to which are commonly added, the Perizzites and the Canaanites. In regard to the name and origin of these last, the learned have not been able to come to any satisfactory determination. It has been found impossible to trace the Perizzites to any of the direct progeny of Canaan; nor has it been less difficult to explain why the sacred historian should have assigned to the

* See Josephi Bell. Judaic. lib. i. c. 4.; and the Ancient Universal History, vol. i. p. 355.

other tribe an appellation which seems to have belonged to all the nations in common.

On the principle which I have attempted to illustrate in the former part of this chapter, the number of ruling families in the course of a few generations increased to a great amount; and as every clan acknowledged the proximate authority of its own chief, the government of the country, when the Hebrews first entered it, was found to be parcelled out among upwards of thirty petty kings, who led their own armies and had a voice in the conduct of the war. Adonibezek, himself, the sovereign of only two subordinate tribes, boasted or confessed that he had reduced threescore and ten kings to the miserable condition of gathering their meat under his table. It is probable, therefore, that the thirty-one kings who were conquered by Joshua were all included in the seven nations which that commander was enjoined to destroy. Nor must we suppose that, in the whole country, there were no more than thirty-one individuals who bore the royal title. Those only are mentioned who were overcome by the Hebrew generals; and as the Scripture acknowledges that the Canaanites were not wholly subdued by him, we may infer that many had the title of king who never were assailed by the arms of Joshua.*

The early history of these small monarchies is very little known. Among the first notices which the sacred volume contains respecting them, we may reckon the short account of the Elamite invasion as one of the most important. We next read of the destruction of some of their principal cities by fire from heaven; the punishment of crimes which could not be expiated otherwise

* Ancient Universal History, vol. i. p. 389.

than by the extinction of all animal and vegetable life throughout the contaminated region. For the minute details connected with the wars of Joshua, I must rest satisfied with a general reference to the book which bears the name of that distinguished servant of God; proceeding without farther delay to the transactions which fell out during the administration of the Judges, the period to which our researches properly belong.

Immediately after the campaign in which the power of Adonibezek was reduced by Simeon and Judah, the victorious Hebrews attacked the enemy in several other quarters, and particularly in Hebron and Debir; two cities which had formerly been destroyed by Joshua, but which appear to have been retaken by the Canaanites,—an instance among many others, as it has been well observed, of the resolution of this people and of their reluctance to quit their possessions. Generally speaking, those who inhabited the mountainous districts were easily subdued by the hardy soldiers who fought the battles of the Lord; but such as dwelt in the low country were long able to keep their ground, because they had chariots of iron, which were found to do great execution in the plain. Hebron, a city which was greatly prized by the conquerors, rewarded, in this local war, the zeal and valour of the two confederate tribes.

But the efforts of the chosen people were not in every part attended with equal success. Bethel, indeed, was taken by the house of Joseph; but the conquerors were more indebted for their triumph to the treachery of one of the inhabitants than to their own military skill. A learned writer remarks, that the attempts of the several tribes to expel the Canaanites kept the land in a constant ferment, but ended with no great success on either side. The adverse parties seem to have been pretty equally

matched; so that, although it is certain multitudes of the natives fell in the wars with Joshua, and that many of them fled from their country altogether in search of more quiet and secure abodes, yet, so considerable was their remaining number, valour, or superior skill in war, that, after all their calamities, they seem to have been but little inferior to the Israelites. Nor did one tribe of them disappear, except the Girgashites; who are supposed to have retired to Africa, and to have founded in that division of the earth a prosperous colony.*

About fourteen centuries before the Christian era, the power of the Canaanites increased so greatly, that the children of Israel fell under subjection to it, and endured at their hands an oppressive servitude of twenty years. Jabin was king of the former people at the period in question; an ambitious and active prince, who having placed his royal seat at Hazor, one of the cities which had been destroyed by Joshua, and added to his army nine hundred chariots of iron, exercised over the greater part of his ancient territory a vigorous and tyrannical government. Sisera, the captain of the host, seconded the aspiring views of his master, and rigidly enforced his commands against the subdued and unresisting Hebrews. The insurrection of the northern tribes under Deborah and Barak, and the decisive victory which they gained over the Canaanites at mount Tabor, are too familiar to the recollection of the youngest reader to require any additional narrative. It is sufficient to observe, that the success of Barak, on this memorable occasion, broke the chains of Canaanitish servitude, reduced the power of Jabin within due limits, and secured to the Israelites a peace which continued forty years.

* Ancient Universal History, vol. i. p. 404.

No farther mention is made in Scripture of this warlike people during several generations. It appears, however, that they were able to maintain a footing in sundry parts of the land, and even in Jerusalem, till the reign of David, who drove them from that fortress. We are told that when the Jebusites, who held the castle of mount Zion, saw the king of Judah advance to attack it, they placed their blind and lame upon the walls to defend them; insinuating that such warriors were sufficient to baffle the attempts of David and his soldiers against a post so well fortified by nature.* But the vaunting language of the Canaanites was soon changed into supplication and mourning; for the place being taken by assault, the inhabitants, it may be presumed, were subjected to some one of those capital punishments which the laws of war, in the times of the first Jewish kings, seem in certain cases to have rendered imperative upon every victorious commander.

This devoted people were afterwards attacked by Pharaoh, king of Egypt, who took Gezer, one of their principal cities, with the usual circumstances of atrocity which in those evil days attended the sacking of every strong

* 2 Samuel v. 6. "And the king and his men went to Jerusalem unto the Jebusites, the inhabitants of the land; which spake unto David saying, Except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither; thinking David cannot come in hither."

"The learned are divided in their opinions about these blind and lame. Josephus understands the expression in the literal sense. Bochart supposes it was in derision of the besiegers that the blind and cripples were placed upon the walls: but Dr Gregory has written a long dissertation to prove that these lame and blind were no other than the gods of this people, who, according to the Psalmist, had eyes and saw not, and feet and walked not." —*Ancient Universal Hist.* vol. i. p. 406.

It might have occurred to the learned Gregory, that, however justly the Psalmist described the idols of the heathen, it was very improbable that the Jebusites, on the occasion alluded to, would use such language in regard to the deities in whom they put their trust.

place. The occasion of this inroad on the part of the Egyptians is not mentioned in the sacred volume. We are merely informed in the ninth chapter of the first book of the Kings, that Pharaoh had gone up and taken Gezer, and burnt it with fire, and slain the Canaanites that dwelt in the city.

In the reign of Solomon, the history of the Canaanites can hardly be traced; if viewed, at least, as distinguished from the Phenicians, of whose more brilliant and interesting annals we shall shortly be called upon to give an outline. Before the death of this prince, the remains of the seven nations had sunk down into a state of hopeless servitude; for "all the people that were left of the Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites, and their children that were left after them in the land, whom the children of Israel were not able utterly to destroy, upon those did Solomon levy a tribute of bond-service unto this day."* There is some reason to believe, that the degraded condition to which these tribes were reduced by the son of David became hereditary among their remotest descendants, and even survived the Babylonian captivity. In the book of Ezra there are traces to be discovered of this Jewish helotism as not yet extinct; for in the list of those who returned from the territories of the great king, were "the children of Solomon's servants. And all the Nethinims, and the children of Solomon's servants, were three hundred ninety and two."† Thus, at length, was the purpose of God fulfilled. The wicked nations of Canaan were obliterated from the face of the earth; and the Hebrews no longer turned aside to worship idols, the works of men's hands, nor to do homage in the groves to the host of heaven.

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* 1 Kings ix. 20, 21. † Ezra ii. 55. 58.

III. The fourth servitude endured by the children of Israel was inflicted upon them by the hands of the MIDIANITES; who, with the Amalekites and other eastern tribes, came up against them and overran their country. "And they encamped against them, and destroyed the increase of the earth, till thou come unto Gaza; and left no sustenance for Israel, neither sheep, nor ox, nor ass."*

In regard to this people it is generally thought that they drew their origin from Midian, the fourth son of Abraham, by Keturah. Having received a suitable patrimony from his father, whose chief cares were directed to Isaac and to the hopes connected with his lineage, this young man, along with the rest of his brethren, was sent into the east country, that he might be at a distance from the child of promise, to whom an inheritance was given in the land of Canaan. Midian became the progenitor of a powerful tribe, which branched out into families from his five sons, Ephah, Epher, Hanoch, Abidah, and Eldaah.†

In the earlier periods of their history, the Midianites are frequently confounded with the direct descendants of Ishmael; and, in later times, we find them mentioned in conjunction with the Nabatheans and Kederenes, the posterity of Nabaioth and Keder, likewise sons of this celebrated patriarch. As the progeny of Abraham, they could not but regard one another as kinsmen and brethren; and, occupying in common an extensive and undivided country, it is not surprising that they should have been often found acting together as allies, and even sharing the same name. But it is not so easy to understand why they should have formed so close a union with the Moabites, as to be regarded, even by the inspired historian, almost as one nation. Moses observes that they always combined

* Judges vi. 1—4. † Genesis xxv. 4.

their interests and their force against the people over whom he presided; that their religion and manners were the same; and that, except in the local distribution of their families, there was scarcely any difference between the Midianites, the Moabites, and the Ishmaelites. We find, too, that, upon the defeat of Sihon, king of the Amorites, the princes of Midian consulted with Balak, king of Moab, as to the measures to be adopted for warding off the disaster with which they were threatened at the hands of the Hebrew invaders; and there is ample evidence on record, that the former were not less active than the latter in employing those evil arts by which the swords of Israel were blunted and their reputation sullied, while encamped in the neighbourhood of Beth-peor.*

The Midianites of old appear to have divided themselves into two great classes, the pastoral and the mercantile; the one living in tents, and removing from place to place according to the wants of their flocks; the other travelling across the deserts with the rich metals, spicery, and perfumes, which constituted the luxury of ancient times, and exchanging them for slaves or cattle. It was to a company of Midianitish merchants that Joseph was sold by his brethren for thirty pieces of silver. This species of traffic, as might be expected, diffused great wealth over the wildest parts of Syria; and we perceive, accordingly, that, when the Midianites were defeated by Gideon, the spoil found upon the persons of the soldiers, the kings and the leaders, was sufficient to enrich all the host of Israel. The Hebrew champion requested of his army that they would deliver up to him "every man the ear-rings of his prey." "For," adds the Scripture, "they had golden ear-rings,

* Numbers xxii. 3. 7.; and xxv. 1—18.

because they were Ishmaelites. And the weight of the golden ear-rings that he requested was a thousand and seven hundred shekels of gold, besides ornaments, and collars, and purple raiment that was on the kings of Midian, and besides the chains that were about their camels' necks."*

Some writers have been disposed to estimate the learning and science of the Midianites still higher than their wealth and commercial enterprise. Assuming that Job lived in the part of Arabia where the descendants of Abraham kept their flocks, it is inferred that his contemporaries could not fail to be acquainted with letters as well as with the general principles of natural philosophy. Moses, who excelled in the learning of Egypt, is supposed by Sir Isaac Newton to have made valuable additions to his knowledge while in the household of Jethro his father-in-law, the priest of Midian. Another author observes, that "the merchants must also have been versed in some kind of arithmetic; and there being ships in the Mediterranean so early as the days of the patriarch Jacob, and these being themselves traders, and situated on the Red Sea, it cannot be supposed that they would refrain from ship-building, and viewing the shores of their own sea and the contiguous coasts. From hence we may naturally enough extend the circle of their sciences beyond bare writing and arithmetic, and allow them a competent skill in geography, geometry, and astronomy."†

It has been imagined, too, that, though the mass of the people on the borders of Moab was devoted to the gross superstition of Baal-peor and the other idols of Canaan,

* Judges viii. 24—27. The ear-rings alone amounted to nearly L.4000 of our money.

† Ancient Universal History, vol. i. p. 364.

there were, notwithstanding, among the Midianites, many persons of pure and lofty views who continued to worship the one true God. Job, who is supposed to have lived in those early days, presents a fine example of an enlightened theist, who had not only studied the mechanism of the material world, but had also founded, upon his physical researches, the wisest and most consolatory doctrines relative to the divine attributes. Jethro, again, one of the priests of the tribe, possessed a mind much too elevated to stoop to the degrading usages of the popular superstition. His conduct, when in the camp of Israel, proves at once his prudence and his steadfastness; for while he suggested to Moses a scheme of government which was admirably suited to the constitution of the Hebrew people, he retained his peculiar notions in respect to the religion which he himself had been accustomed to teach and enforce. He was ready to join in offering up praise, thanksgiving, and even sacrifices to the Almighty; but he refused to submit to the rite of circumcision, the sign of the Abrahamic covenant, in the benefits of which he had no share.

The first historical notice of the Midianites, which is conveyed to us in Scripture, is contained in the thirty-sixth chapter of Genesis, where they are said to have been defeated by Hadad, one of the kings of Edom. Their name does not again occur in the sacred pages until the time of Moses, when they formed the alliance, already mentioned, with the Moabites, to oppose the passage of the Hebrew congregation. The part which the Midianites took in the war against Israel was not less remarkable than the punishment with which they were soon afterwards visited for following the counsel of Balaam. Influenced by the command of Heaven, the inspired leader of Israel selected twelve thousand men, a thousand from every tribe, saying, "Arm yourselves unto the war, and go against the Midi-

anites, and avenge the Lord of Midian. 'And Moses sent them to the war, a thousand of every tribe, them and Phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest, with the holy instruments, and the trumpets to blow in his hand. And they warred against the Midianites, as the Lord commanded Moses; and they slew all the males. 'And they slew the kings of Midian, besides the rest of them that were slain; namely, Evi, and Rekem, and Zur, and Hur, and Reba, five kings of Midian: Balaam, also the son of Beor, they slew with the sword. And the children of Israel took all the women of Midian captives, and their little ones, and took the spoil of all their cattle, and all their flocks, and all their goods. And they burnt all their cities wherein they dwelt, and all their goodly castles, with fire."*

In this manner was one branch of the Midianitish nation entirely destroyed. But that the whole people were not utterly exterminated, may be inferred from the history of the Hebrew commonwealth; where we read, that after the days of Barak two princes of great power rose up, to avenge the sufferings of their ancient tribes upon the descendants of those whose hands had been stained with their blood. For seven successive years did Zeba and Zalmunna wage a cruel war against the Israelites; who, not daring to remain in the low country, fled to the mountains, and there sought shelter in caves and fortresses which they had prepared as places of defence. The Midianites, accordingly, finding no enemy to oppose them, wasted the fruits of the earth, and drove off the cattle; entering every season, with their numerous camels and other beasts of burden, into the land when the fruits were far advanced; carrying away all that could be removed, and

* Numbers xxxi. 1—10.

destroying every thing that they were compelled to leave behind.

The decisive victory of Gideon, in the valley of Jezreel, put an end to these vexations. Clothed with a supernatural commission, this son of Joash undertook the deliverance of his people,—a task which he accomplished so fully, that the remembrance of his name, and the weight of his sword, impressed the Midianites with terror for many years, and secured tranquillity to the tribes of Israel on both sides of the Jordan. But the circumstances which accompanied this victory, as well as the means by which it was obtained, have already been described with sufficient minuteness; and, besides, they are to be found in language which cannot be improved, in the sixth chapter of the book of Judges, to which I beg leave to refer the studious reader.

But neither did the sword of Gideon finally exterminate the house of Midian. On the contrary, we observe allusions to that people, as still great and flourishing, some centuries after the son of Joash had been gathered to his fathers. In the magnificent picture of approaching power and happiness which Isaiah presented to the faith of his countrymen, when the abundance of the sea should be converted unto them, and the forces of the Gentiles should come unto them, he mentions the "multitude of camels and the dromedaries of Midian and Ephah; all they from Sheba shall come: they shall bring gold and incense"—the peculiar commodities in which the wealth of the Midianite merchantmen consisted.* Habakkuk, in like manner, makes an allusion to the same people, in the sublime vision, in which he beheld shadowed forth the judg-

* Isaiah lx. 6, 7.

ments that awaited the earth. "God came from Teman, and the Holy one from mount Paran. His glory covered the heavens, and the earth was full of his praise. Before him went the pestilence, and burning coals went forth at his feet. He stood, and measured the earth: he beheld, and drove asunder the nations; and the everlasting mountains were scattered, the perpetual hills did bow. I saw the tents of Cushan in affliction; and the curtains of the land of Midian did tremble."*

About the end of the first century of the Christian faith, the name of the ancient Midianites appears to have merged in the more general appellation of Arabians. Abulfeda, it is true, relates that, at the distance of thirteen hundred years from the epoch just mentioned, there was in the desert a ruined city called Madyan; in the neighbourhood of which the natives pretended to show the fountain where Moses watered the herds of Jethro; and the same historian adds, "that it continues to be one of the stations in the pilgrimage from Egypt to Mecca, under the name of Shoaib's cave."†

I have already stated, that, according to the judgment of the most approved commentators, it was during the famine occasioned by the successive inroads of the Midianites into the land of the Hebrews, that the severe famine took place which compelled the husband of Ruth to migrate with his family into the country of Moab. No other dearth is noticed in the Scriptures as having occurred during the times when the judges ruled; and hence the ground of the opinion now mentioned.‡

In respect to Gideon, again, who, from the incident

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* Habakkuk iii. 7—12.

† See Ancient Universal History, vol. i. p. 370.

‡ See Patrick on the place; Lightfoot's and Townsend's Chronicles.

recorded in the sixth chapter of Judges, is likewise called Jerubbaal, there has been a tradition current in history since the reign of Adrian, that he gave assistance to Sanchoniathon, the Phenician cosmogonist; whose work, on the creation of the world and the first race of mankind, was translated by Philo-Byblius, and recommended by Porphyry. Eusebius, who, in the tenth chapter of the first book of his Evangelical Preparation, has preserved a large extract from the Greek version of Sanchoniathon, repeats the story of Jerubbaal the priest of Jao; whose communications, he adds, are understood to have supplied to the latter writer the chief materials of his singular production. But, admitting the authenticity of this work, of which, notwithstanding the labours of Bishop Cumberland, there is still great room to doubt, it is not easy to perceive a good reason for identifying the Jewish priest with the warlike Gideon; whose habits do not on any occasion appear to have had a close affinity with literature. Nor was the epithet which was conferred upon the son of Joash, necessarily confined to one individual; being merely descriptive of an action which might be performed by others, at different times and places. Besides, Gideon was not a priest of Jehovah; he was not even a Levite; he was a member of the tribe of Manasseh. Bochart, it is true, ascribes this mistake to the ignorance of a Pagan; who, upon hearing that the Hebrew chief had set up an ephod in his house, naturally concluded that he must have belonged to the sacerdotal order; and who, perhaps, used the term which is translated priest to denote rather a man of rank in general, than one whose duties were limited to the service of a particular divinity.*

* Dei porro *Jao* sacerdos, ex cujus commentariis profecisse legitur Sanchoniathon, mihi videtur esse Gideon. At, inquies, Jerombalus sacerdos

But the reasoning of the learned author of Phaleg is not satisfactory. It is more probable that the priest of *Jao*, from whose commentaries the Phenician author derived so much aid, was Moses. Diodorus Siculus remarks, that this legislator ascribed the origin and sanction of his laws to a god who was called *Jao*; τον Ιαω ἐπικαλουμενον θεον.* And on the faith of these statements many learned men have been inclined to believe, that the writings which Philo Byblius translated were indeed genuine; and that Sanchoniathon must have drawn from the Pentateuch many of the facts which he has incorporated and disfigured in his strange cosmogony. Nay, others have supposed that Thoth, called by the Greeks Mercury, was only another name for Moses: but the numerous inconsistencies which the research of modern times has detected in the several accounts that have been given of the Phenician manuscript, and especially the silence of antiquity respecting its author, who, if he had deserved the character given of him by Porphyry, could not have been so entirely overlooked, create a just ground of suspicion either against the honesty or the discernment of *Philo* Byblius. Hence it has been conjectured, that the latter writer fabricated the work from the ancient cosmogonies, and ushered it into the world as a version from the Phenician language; with the view, it is thought, of providing the Pagan philosophers with a history of the creation, which might be set up in opposition to that which had been furnished by the inspired legislator of the Jews. This, at least, is the opinion of

non erat Dei *Jao*, Gideon ne Levita quidem, sed è tribu Manassis. Fateor; sed nihil mirum ab Ethnico homine, et rerum Judicarum non admodum perito, eum haberi pro sacerdote qui ex hostium spoliis constituit Ephod in urbe sua.—*Phaleg*, lib. ii. cap. xvii. p. 774.

* Diodorus Siculus, lib. i.

Brucker; and his judgment has been somewhat confirmed by the arguments of Dodwell and by the authority of Dupin.*

Eusebius, Theodoret, and some other of the Christian fathers, have been considered as too credulous in respect to the claims urged in behalf of Sanchoniathon, by Philo Byblius and the subtle Porphyry. The bishop of Cesarea was desirous to find, in the description of the Phenician antiquary, a counterpart to the narrative of Moses; imagining that the sacred books would somehow gain an additional measure of light or cogency from the corresponding details of a heathen fabulist. But an accurate examination of the doctrines of Sanchoniathon will satisfy the discerning reader that, so far from strengthening the authority of the Pentateuch, it directly opposes its fundamental statements: teaching that, from the necessary operation of an active principle, eternal and unintelligent, upon the chaotic mass, a principle which was likewise eternal and inactive, the visible world sprang into existence. So little, in short, are the views of Sanchoniathon in unison with those of Moses, that Porphyry has been suspected of giving his countenance to the former, in order that he might thereby throw upon the latter a cloud of suspicion and contempt.

But the question before us at present does not respect the authenticity of the tract ascribed to the Phenician; it turns entirely on the disputed point, whether Gideon, and the Jerombal mentioned by Eusebius, are or are not the same individual. If, then, we regulate our determination by the laws of probability, and by the opinions of the great majority of historians and chronologers, we must

* Dodwell's Discourse, &c. Le Court Gibelin. "Allegories Orientales." Cumberland's Sanchoniathon.

decide in the negative; finding that neither the times in which they are supposed to have lived, nor the characters which are assigned to them, establish the hypothesis which assumes their identity.

IV. The sixth servitude of the Israelites was inflicted upon them by the PHILISTINES, a warlike people who lived on their western borders. From some scattered notices found in the Old Testament, it has been concluded, that this celebrated nation came originally from Egypt; where they were known as the descendants of the Casluhim and Caphtorim, the immediate progeny of Mizraim, the grandson of Noah. In the book of Deuteronomy, the sacred historian relates that the Avim which dwelt in Hazerim, even unto Azzah, the Caphtorim, which came forth out of Caphtor, destroyed them, and dwelt in their stead.* Dr Cumberland, in a learned discourse on these words, endeavours to prove, that by Hazerim was meant, not a single town, but huts and villages in which the native inhabitants of Canaan were wont to live; and hence, having no places of strength or walled cities in their territory, they fell an easy prey into the hands of the Cuthite invaders. It is worthy of remark, too, that both Jeremiah and Amos mention the Philistines as having migrated from Caphtor; confirming by their testimony an historical fact of which the evidence had already become faint and indistinct.†

Their most recent form of government appears to have been administered by kings, all of whom were addressed by the affectionate title of Abimelech, a term which literally imports MY FATHER the KING. Such were the sovereigns of the country in the days of Abraham and Isaac;

* Deut. ii. 23. † Jeremiah xlvii. 4.; Amos ix. 7.

but the monarchical rule seems to have been soon afterwards changed into an aristocracy under the direction of five lords or provincial governors. This form subsisted in the time of the Hebrew judges, in whose annals the proud satraps of Philistia are frequently mentioned. At a later period, however, the regal power must have been once more restored. The second race of kings was distinguished by the appellation of Achish. During the reign of David and his immediate successors on the throne of Judah, they had their seat of government at Gath; which, it is presumed, they afterwards removed to Ascalon, and finally to Gaza.

About the time when they were visited by the first patriarchs of the Hebrew family, the Philistines were a quiet, industrious, and hospitable people. As superstition increased, they allowed themselves to be contaminated with its worst practices; became bigoted worshippers of the idols which were set up in their adopted country; and appear to have hated the Israelites with a more intense dislike, in proportion as they themselves multiplied the objects of their absurd veneration. It is remarkable, too, that though in Scripture they are constantly mentioned as strangers, and though possessed of a considerable portion of the land of Canaan, the Almighty would not suffer them to be driven out; because they were Egyptians by descent, and not belonging to those aboriginal tribes whose territory only was promised to Abraham and to his seed. Their arrogance and ambition were at all times equally great; and so implacable was their enmity to the Israelites, that, as a certain author observes, one would be almost tempted to think that they had been created on purpose to be a thorn in their sides; for though the hand of God was evidently against them several times, and particularly

when they detained the ark, they yet hardened their hearts and closed their eyes against conviction.

The early annals of the Philistim are perfectly consistent with the simplicity of the times at which they are first introduced to our notice. Their kings appear to have exercised their chief authority in determining the bounds of the different pastoral districts, and in enforcing the rules which were thought necessary for the peaceful intercourse of the shepherds and the security of their flocks. When Abraham arrived in his country, the good Abimelech received him with an open and hearty friendship; allowed him feeding-ground for his numerous herds, and permission to dig wells,—an act of appropriation which seems to have implied that the land was yielded up to him in perpetual possession. But the great increase of substance with which Divine Providence blessed the cares of Isaac, excited the envy or the fears of Abimelech's successor. Forgetful, for a time, of the covenant which had been made by their respective fathers, the king desired the son of Abraham to remove from his borders; while the latter, not imagining that, by any part of his conduct, he could have forfeited the confidence of his royal neighbour, thought it enough to shift from one part of the country to another. But scarcely was he fixed in his new situation, when disputes arose between his servants and the Philistines of Gerar: the former opening the wells which Abraham had dug, and which the latter had closed immediately after his death; and hence Isaac gave to one well the name of Esek, or *contention*, and to another the name of Sitnah, or *hatred*. At length the family treaty was renewed, and a complete reconciliation effected. Isaac made a feast, to which he invited Abimelech and the captain of his host: "and they did eat and drink. And they rose up betimes in the morning, and sware one to another:

and Isaac sent them away, and they departed from him in peace."*

It is impossible to leave this portion of ancient history without remarking, that, in regard to the transactions which took place between Abraham and Isaac on the one hand, and the two kings of the Philistines on the other, there are so many points in which they coincide, that a reader of the sacred volume cannot but suspect the accuracy of copiers; and even apprehend that some of the events, which fell out in the life of the older patriarch, have been repeated in the biography of his son.

After the occurrences now alluded to, many years passed away, during which the Philistines attract no attention either as the friends or the enemies of the Abrahamic race. There is, indeed, in the book of Chronicles an incident related which probably came to pass in the days of the judges; a defeat of the Ephraimites by the people of Gath, when the former were engaged in a plundering expedition. Among the sons of Ephraim are recorded Shuthelah and Bered, and Tahath, and Eladah, and Zabad, and Ezer, and Elead, "whom the men of Gath that were born in that land slew, because they came down to take away their cattle."†

There is a similar notice in the third chapter of the book of Judges, where we are informed that Shamgar, the son of Anath, slew of the Philistines six hundred men with an ox-goad, and thereby delivered Israel. From this narrative, brief as it is, we may infer that the Israelites had been worsted in the field, and even that their enemies had obtained a temporary possession of their lands; but as the administration of Shamgar is limited to

* Genesis xxvi. 30, 31. † Chronicles vii. 20, 21.

one year, it is probable that such inroads, on the part of the Philistines, were not repeated in his days, and that no farther claim was made on his strength or his patriotism.

At the distance of more than a hundred years from the judicature of Shamgar, the sons of the Caphtorim again obtained the ascendency over the people of Jehovah. The children of Israel, having relapsed once more into their idolatrous practices, and served Baalim, and Astaroth, and the gods of Syria, and the gods of Zidon, and the gods of Moab, were sold into the hands of the Philistines, and into the hands of the children of Ammon.* But respecting this servitude, as it affected the tribes on the western border, the Scripture does not enter into particulars. The Ammonites, at the period now before us, were the most active in their hostility; attacking with unrelenting fury the Hebrews who dwelt in the neighbourhood of Jordan, the Ephraimites, the Gileadites, and even the eastern division of Judah and Benjamin. The successes of Jephthah over the armies of Ammon appear to have procured to the whole nation of Israel a long period of security and repose; for it was not until the era of Samson, the mighty champion of Dan, that the Philistines placed their yoke on the necks of this people, and reduced them to the condition of slaves and tributaries.

The slaughter and insult which Samson, from time to time, heaped upon the worshippers of Dagon are described with considerable minuteness by the inspired compiler of the history of the Judges. The disaster, too, which he inflicted upon them at his death, is familiar to the recollection of every reader. The loss and consternation which thereby fell upon the Philistines, induced the Hebrew

* Judges x. 6, 7.

tribes to take the field, with the view of shaking off the miserable thraldom under which they had so long groaned. They pitched their tents at Eben-ezer, where they waited the expected attack of their warlike enemies; while the latter, determined to check the rising spirit of liberty among their Israelitish tributaries, had advanced to Aphek and formed an encampment. The two hosts soon came to action; when the battle turned so decidedly in favour of the Philistines, that they slew four thousand of their adversaries in the field, and put the rest to flight. But a more brilliant triumph still awaited their arms. The Hebrews, having sent for the ark of God, made haste to renew the conflict. The issue was still more fatal than on the former occasion; for not only were thirty thousand of their number smitten with the sword, but also the holy symbol of their religion was taken by their uncircumcised conquerors, and carried with profane exultation to the city of Dagon, the national idol.*

The ascendency of the Philistines being thus confirmed, the sons of Jacob bent in submission to their authority until the days of Samuel the prophet. At length, their patience being exhausted, they resolved to make another effort to reduce the overwhelming power of their oppressors, and to redeem the liberty of their sacred commonwealth. They accordingly mustered their forces at Mizpeh; where they likewise confessed their sins before God, entreating the interposition of the prophet in their behalf, as the minister of their penitence, and the witness of their vows. The lords of Gaza and Ascalon, hearing of this unwonted assemblage, advanced at the head of their army, to disperse and punish the insurgent Hebrews. But the mercy

* 1 Samuel iv. 1, 2. 5, 6. 10, 11.

of Heaven was now awakened in favour of this afflicted and contrite people; and thus, when the Philistines had prepared themselves for the onset, and were about to visit their revolted tributaries with a signal chastisement, they were assailed with a violent storm of thunder and lightning; which so completely broke their ranks and filled their minds with dread, that they were pursued with great slaughter by the Israelites to the borders of their own land.*

But the power of the Philistines, though broken, was not annihilated. On the contrary, we find them in the course of a few years more formidable than ever, and even threatening the stability of the new throne of Israel. Having received information that Geba, one of their fortresses, had been taken by Jonathan the son of Saul, they gathered together thirty thousand chariots, six thousand horse, and infantry as numerous as the sand on the sea-shore, to fight with the Israelites; who, still labouring under the malign influence of their late tyranny, were almost entirely destitute of arms. The divine historian remarks that, as long as the Philistines maintained their sway over the Hebrews, the latter were not permitted to have smiths in their country; but were compelled to go down to the cities of their enemy to sharpen every man his coulter, his mattock, and his axe.† The immense host which went up against Israel encamped in Michmash; whence they spread throughout the whole country a consternation so deep and general, that the people hid themselves in caves, and in thickets, and in rocks, and in high places, and in pits. Some of them even fled out of the land altogether, and, passing over Jordan, took refuge in Gad and Gilead.

* 1 Samuel vii. 5, 6. 10, 11, 12.

† 1 Samuel xiii. 7.; xiv. 15. 20.

"As for Saul, he was yet in Gilgal, and all the people followed him trembling."

The fortunes of Israel were restored by the enterprise of Jonathan, the bravest and most generous of the sons of Saul. This young prince, actuated by a divine impulse, went forth accompanied only by his armour-bearer, and made an attack upon one of the enemy's out-posts; the noise of which spreading to the whole body, the soldiers were seized with a sudden panic, which occasioned so great a tumult amongst them, that, to use the language of Scripture, the garrison and the spoilers trembled, and the earth also quaked. In the height of this disorder, they first fell upon one another with great slaughter, and then betook themselves to flight in the utmost confusion. "Every man's sword was against his fellow, and there was a very great discomfiture."* The Israelites, profiting by the terror into which their antagonists were thrown, began to pursue them with spirit; and had not Saul by an unseasonable oath deprived them of the means of recruiting their strength, they must have cut in pieces the greater number of the fugitives. The slaughter, however, was still very considerable; for they smote the Philistines that day from Michmash to Aijalon.

It was apparently to retrieve the loss and the disgrace which they suffered at Michmash, that the Philistines again resumed their arms against the king of Israel and invaded his territory. Having fixed upon a strong position in the inheritance of Judah, from which they might at pleasure distress the land, they resolved to wait the course of events without incurring the hazard of a general action. The indecision of Saul, on the other hand, betrayed his fears. Condemned to listen day after day to the reproach-

* 1 Sam. xiv. 15, 20.

ful challenge of Goliath, he nevertheless restrained his followers, and delayed the battle. The courage of David, and his victory over the Philistine champion, relieved the cause of Israel from a painful uncertainty; for no sooner did the pagans see the gigantic soldier of Gath slain by the hand of a stripling, than their courage forsook them; and, yielding themselves to that irresistible panic to which eastern armies have always been subject, they sought safety in a disgraceful flight; losing, if we may believe Josephus, not fewer than thirty thousand killed and twice as many wounded.*

But the lords of the Philistines had soon an opportunity of avenging Goliath on the Hebrews and their king. A decisive battle was fought on mount Gilboa, in which Saul and his three sons were killed, and his army routed with great slaughter. The enraged barbarians, upon finding the body of the Jewish monarch among the slain, cut off his head, and conveyed his armour to the temple of their goddess Astaroth. They hung up the mangled corpses of his family on the walls of Bethshan; from which ignominious exposure they were soon removed by the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead, upon whom the unfortunate monarch had recently conferred a substantial benefaction. "When they heard of what the Philistines had done to Saul, all the valiant men arose and went all night, and took the body of Saul and the bodies of his sons from the wall of Bethshan, and came to Jabesh and burnt them there. And they took their bones and buried them under a tree at Jabesh, and fasted seven days."†

The reign of David proved very fatal to the interests of the Philistines; insomuch, indeed, that we may adopt the lan-

* 1 Samuel xvii. 51, 52, 53. Josephi Antiq. lib. vi. c. 11.
† 1 Samuel xxxi. 11, 12, 13.

language of the book of Ecclesiasticus, and say, that "their horn was broken asunder" by the sword of the son of Jesse. They became tributaries to his kingdom; finding it more suitable to their commercial habits to purchase tranquillity at the expense of a little silver and reputation, than to risk their political existence in the field of battle against a warrior so experienced and powerful as David. During the lapse of many successive years, accordingly, the Hebrews maintained an unrestrained intercourse with their western neighbours; and appear to have acquired a taste for those luxuries of which the several ports belonging to the Philistines were already become the principal emporia.

It was not till the accesson of Nadab, king of Israel, that the ancient enmity of the two nations was once more revived. This monarch made an attempt upon Gibbethon, a Levitical city, which, in fact, pertained to his crown, but which the Philistines had seized when, on one occasion, it was deserted by its inhabitants. Elah, at a still later period, renewed the siege with equal want of success; the skill and strength of his army being exhausted to no purpose on the resolute valour of the garrison. But, although the Philistines made a vigorous opposition to the arms of Israel, they were desirous to remain on good terms with the princes of Judah, to whom they continued the payment of their accustomed tribute. We observe, however, that when Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat was raised to the throne, they not only spurned his authority, but actually invaded his kingdom; plundering his palace, and carrying their fury against him to such a height as to massacre all his family except Athaliah, and her son, who had the good fortune to escape their sanguinary resentment. At the same time, also, they carried off a great number of captives; some of whom they sold

to the Edomites, and others to the Greeks, who removed them to a hopeless distance from their native land.* "The Lord stirred up against Jehoram the spirit of the Philistines, and of the Arabians that were near the Ethiopians: And they came up into Judah and brake into it, and carried away all the substance that was found in the king's house, and his sons also and his wives; so that there was never a son left him save Jehoahaz, the youngest of his sons."†

Uzziah, after the various turns of a protracted warfare, restored the balance of power in favour of the Hebrews. He took and dismantled some of the principal cities in the Philistine territory, and built fortresses in order to restrain the inhabitants and enforce the payment of tribute. He reduced Gath, Jabneh, and Ashdod, and planted garrisons in all the strong places of the district which he had overrun. The pressure of this conquest was so severely felt, that until the reign of Ahaz the Philistines did not venture to make another appeal to arms.

The weak policy of the sovereign just named encouraged them to invade his territories; and this they accomplished with so much success, that most of the cities of the low country and of the south of Judah fell into their hands; namely, Bethshemesh, and Ajalon, and Gederoth, and Shocho, with the villages thereof, and Timnah, with the villages thereof, and Gimzo also, and the villages thereof, and they dwelt therein.‡ But the time was at hand when a power was to burst upon Syria, Canaan, and Philistia, which was destined to put an end to these petty struggles for superiority, and to reduce at once the sons of Israel and the descendants of the Caphtorim to an

* Amos i. 6.; Joel iii. 6. † 2 Chronicles xxi. 16, 17.
‡ 2 Chronicles xxviii. 18.

equal obedience, and to an acknowledgment of the same paramount sceptre. Sennacherib sent against them his general, the celebrated Tartan, who reduced their strongholds and wasted their fields; realizing to their fullest extent the words of the prophet Zephaniah, who predicted that "Gaza should be forsaken, and Askelon should become a desolation; that they should drive out Ashdod at the noon-day, and that Ekron should be rooted up. Wo unto the inhabitants of the sea-coasts, the nation of the Cherithites! The word of the Lord is against you: O Canaan, the land of the Philistines, I will destroy thee that there shall be no inhabitant; and the sea-coasts shall be dwellings and cottages for shepherds, and folds for flocks."*

This subjection to the Assyrians entailed upon the Philistines a long train of suffering and degradation. Their country soon became the seat of a protracted and bloody war; for the king of Egypt, apprehensive for the safety of his own states, attempted to drive the Assyrian troops out of Palestine, and, with that view, commenced hostilities which continued not less than thirty years. From this period the name of the Philistines disappears from the page of history; and their place is occupied by the subjects of the three great monarchies which in their turn possessed the western shores of Asia.

V. We now proceed to the history of the children of Ammon. The origin of this tribe may be discovered in the same portion of sacred writ in which the extraction of Moab is unfolded; where we also find that they took possession of a range of country contiguous to that which their brethren of the older branch had selected for their inheri-

* Zephaniah xi. 4—6.

tance. As the Moabites drove out the Emims and seized their lands, so the Ammonites expelled the Zuzims and planted themselves in their stead; both of which tribes appear to have kept their ground until the days of Moses, when the latter were defeated by Sihon the Amorite, who compelled them to seek refuge in the mountains.

Of their political constitution and manners so little is recorded in Scripture, that the most inquisitive reader is left almost entirely to conjecture. Their government was administered by a magistrate, to whom, after the fashion of the surrounding countries, they gave the title of king. The richness of the soil which had fallen to their lot induced them to practise the arts of husbandry; whence, we might conclude, that, in the progress of civilization, they could not fail to surpass the neighbouring tribes, whose pursuits necessarily spread them over the surface of the desert, and accustomed them to dwell in tents. Owing to the relationship which subsisted between them and the descendants of Abraham, the Hebrews, when they passed from Egypt into Canaan, were instructed to abstain from making war upon them or committing any act of violence; but the Ammonites, like their brethren of Moab, influenced rather by their own fears than by the conduct of the strangers, involved themselves in the very calamities which they wished to avoid.

At a period considerably more recent, we find them joined in an alliance with Eglon against the children of Israel, and sharing in the triumphs which that prince gained over the idolatrous tribes. He gathered unto him Ammon and Amalek, and went and smote Israel, and possessed the city of palm trees.* About a century and

* Judges iii. 13.

a half thereafter, they engaged singly in a war with the Hebrews, in order to recover the lands of which their ancestors had been deprived by the arms of Moses. "The king of the children of Ammon answered unto the messenger of Jephthah, saying, Because Israel took away my land when they came up out of Egypt, from Arnon even unto Jabbok, and unto Jordan; now therefore restore those lands again peaceably."* Advancing into the country with these pretensions, the sovereign of the Ammonites took the inhabitants by surprise; reduced the principal towns in the eastern tribes; and at length crossed the Jordan to fall upon Judah, Benjamin, and Ephraim. Nor was his progress checked until the heroic son of Gilead was induced to take the field, and determine his claims at the point of the sword. "So Jephthah passed over unto the children of Ammon to fight against them; and the Lord delivered them into his hands. And he smote them from Aroer, even till thou come to Minnith, even twenty cities, and unto the plain of the vineyards, with a very great slaughter."† Thus terminated the ascendency of the people of Ammon over Israel, which had continued during the long space of eighteen years.

But although defeated, on this occasion, as well by argument as by arms, the Ammonites did not relinquish their ancient rights to part of the Hebrew territory. In the very beginning of the reign of Saul, when, as yet, the regal authority was not fully established in Israel, Nahash, their king, invaded the lands of Reuben and Gad, which were situated beyond the river Jordan: and, having driven the inhabitants into the larger towns for safety, he proceeded to lay siege to Jabesh-Gilead, one of the strong-

* Judges xi. 13. † Judges xi. 32, 33.

est places in that part of the kingdom. The terror of his name was so great, that the people were disposed at once to throw themselves at his feet, and to acknowledge him for their master: and had he not, in the true spirit of a barbarian, refused to receive their submission except on terms which were worse than death, he might have completed the conquest of the trans-jordanic tribes. "The men of Jabesh said unto Nahash, Make a covenant with us, and we will serve thee. And Nahash the Ammonite answered them, On this condition will I make a covenant with you, that I may thrust out all your right eyes, and lay it for a reproach upon all Israel."* The inhabitants replied, that if he would allow them seven days to wait for relief at the hands of their countrymen, they would, at the end of that period, if no deliverance reached them, surrender themselves and their city on the terms which he had prescribed. Nahash agreed to delay his revenge until the seven days should expire. On the last evening of the truce, the men of Jabesh, aware of the means which were about to be used for their succour, sent to the camp of the besiegers, saying, "To-morrow we will come out unto you, and ye shall do with us all that seemeth good unto you." But before the dawn of the eighth day, Saul, who had divided his army into three parts, attacked the Ammonites with so much impetuosity, that they were instantly thrown into an inextricable confusion, which soon terminated in a general rout. The Israelites came into the midst of the host in the morning watch, and slew the Ammonites until the heat of the day; at which time the survivors were so completely broken and dispersed, that nowhere two of them were to be seen together.†

* 1 Samuel xi. 1, 2.

† 1 Samuel xi. 11.

Nahash was succeeded on the throne of Ammon by Hanun his son; when, we are told, David sent ambassadors to compliment the young king upon his accession, and to make an offer of private friendship and of a national alliance. "Then said David, I will show kindness unto Hanun the son of Nahash, as his father showed kindness unto me. And David sent to comfort him by the hand of his servants for his father. And David's servants came into the land of the children of Ammon." Hanun, on this important occasion, acted the part of a fool; for, affecting to regard the envoys of the Jewish king as spies, he gave orders to shave half their beards, to cut away the skirts of their garments, and to send them home in that shameful disguise. This contempt, directed against the most spirited and powerful prince who, at that period, reigned in Syria, brought upon the Ammonite and his people a speedy and signal retribution.*

Finding himself on the eve of war, Hanun sent messengers to the neighbouring princes, soliciting their aid against the king of Judah. He applied to the Syrians of Beth-Rehob, and to the Syrians of Zobah, from whom he procured twenty thousand footmen. The king of Maachah furnished one thousand, and the ruler of Ishtob twelve; so that the troops supplied by his confederates amounted in all to not less than three and thirty thousand. Josephus limits the gross number to thirty-two thousand; deducting the contingent said to have been provided by the king of Maachah. The account given in the first book of Chronicles varies in several important particulars both from Josephus and the inspired text of Samuel. "And when the children of Ammon saw that they made them-

* 2 Samuel x. 2,

selves odious unto David, Hanun and the children of Ammon sent a thousand talents of silver to hire them chariots and horsemen out of Mesopotamia, and out of Syria-maachah, and out of Zobah. So they hired thirty and two thousand chariots, and the king of Maachah and his people."* Here the footmen are converted into chariots,—an error which must be ascribed to clerical neglect, ignorance, or vanity.

Hanun, at the head of an army, formidable chiefly on account of its number, proceeded out of Rabbah to meet Joab, whom king David had intrusted with the command of his forces. The Ammonites and their allies formed in two separate bodies; the first under the walls of their town, the second at some distance in the plain; hoping thereby to distract the attention of the Hebrew general, and to assail him at once in front and rear. But the military talent of Joab supplied him with a suitable expedient for defeating the plan of the enemy. He likewise divided his troops into two columns; and placing one under the direction of his brother Abishai, ordered him forthwith to charge the Ammonites, while he himself with the other rushed upon the Syrian auxiliaries. The latter not being able to withstand the shock, immediately gave way; upon which the subjects of Hanun, quitting their ranks, sought a retreat within the walls of their city.

The Syrians, apparently ashamed of their discomfiture, or perhaps dreading the resentment of David, made preparations for again taking the field against the Hebrews. "When they saw that they were smitten before Israel," says the sacred writer, "they gathered themselves together; and Hadarezer sent and brought out the Syrians that

* 1 Chronicles xix. 6, 7.

were beyond the river; and they came to Helam: and Shobach, the captain of the host of Hadarezer, went before them."* On this occasion David went out in person to conduct the war in the country of Ammon; and having soon routed the confederated bands, he resolved to chastise the insolence of Hanun more severely than he had yet thought it necessary, and to disable him from renewing his vexatious hostilities. For this purpose he soon afterwards sent an army under the command of Joab, with orders to lay waste the country of the Ammonites, to destroy their towns, and to carry off or massacre the inhabitants. In pursuance of these instructions, the Hebrew leader shut up Hanun in Rabbah, the capital of his kingdom; to which he immediately laid siege with the greater part of his men. The place, being naturally strong and well fortified, held out about two years; in the course of which the Ammonites made at least one furious sally, when they cut off a great number of the Israelites, and among others Uriah the Hittite, the husband of Bathsheba.†

At length the city being reduced to great extremities, particularly for want of water, was on the point of surrendering, when Joab gave notice to his sovereign to assume himself the command of the troops, that he might have the honour of taking the capital of the Ammonites. Upon his arrival in the camp, David ordered an assault, which was attended with complete success. Hanun is supposed to have fallen among the combatants; for the crown which he wore, and which, with the precious stones, weighed a talent of gold, was taken off his head by the conqueror and retained as a trophy.‡ It is added, that he brought forth the spoil of the city in great abundance. But the afflictions of the

* 2 Samuel x. 15, 16. † 2 Samuel xi. 14—17. ‡ 2 Samuel xi. 30.

children of Ammon were not confined to the loss of their houses and property. They were treated with a degree of harshness, the description of which, even* at this distant day, fills the mind of the reader with regret, indignation, and disgust; being put to death with the most frightful tortures, thrust under harrows of iron, sawn asunder, hewn down with axes, and thrown into brick-kilns.*

The narrative of Josephus agrees in substance with that now quoted from the inspired writings. The historian observes, that David "first tormented the men, and then destroyed them;" hence we are scarcely at liberty to avail ourselves of the more humane interpretation of those commentators to whom I have elsewhere alluded, who think that by the words used in the book of Samuel nothing more was meant than that the Ammonites were reduced to the condition of slavery; and condemned to the labour of sawing timber, harrowing the fields, hewing wood, and burning bricks.† But whatever might be the nature of this punishment, it was extended to the inhabitants of all the cities which shut their gates against the invading army; for the sacred historian assures us, that "thus dealt David with all the cities of the children of Ammon."‡

It was not until the reign of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, that this people had either the power or the inclination to renew war with the Hebrews. Forming an alliance with their brethren of Moab, they made an incursion upon Judah, the particulars of which are already before the reader.§ Their brief success was checked by the

* 2 Samuel xii. 31.; 1 Chron. xx. 2, 3.

† Josephi Antiq. Jud. lib. vii. c. 7. See also a note by Whiston on the above passage.

‡ 1 Chronicles xx. 3.; 2 Samuel xii. 31.

§ 2 Chronicles xxvii. 5

warlike Uzziah, who again reduced them to the condition of tributaries, and increased their burdens. Nor were they more fortunate under the administration of his son Jotham; who punished an attempt to recover their independence, by compelling them to pay one hundred talents of silver, ten thousand measures of wheat, and the same quantity of barley.*

We meet with no other records of the children of Ammon till towards the close of the Hebrew monarchy; when, alarmed by the ambitious projects of the Babylonian king, they appear to have laid aside their enmity to Israel, and even to have united with them in certain measures of mutual help and protection. There is no doubt, at least, that many of the fugitive Jews were well received in the territory of Ammon; and Baalis, the king, took so much interest in the welfare of the conquered tribes, that he encouraged Ishmael, one of the blood royal, to return to Judea and assassinate the governor appointed by the Babylonians. The murder and partial insurrection which followed the ambiguous counsel of the Ammonitish king, terminated in the ruin of the prince by whose hands they were accomplished; and finally led to the downfall of Baalis himself, and to the destruction of his people. Upon hearing of the death of Gedaliah, the prefect named by his master, Nebuzaradan marched into the country of the Ammonites; laid it waste with fire and sword; demolished Rabbah the capital, and carried the king and most of his nobles into a hopeless captivity.†

But although they were subdued by the arms of Babylon, the children of Ammon still continued a distinct and

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* 2 Chron. xxvii. 5. See also Ancient Universal History, vol. i. p. 362.
† Jeremiah xl. 13—16.; xli. 12.; xlix. 2, 3.

separate nation. They appear even to have increased their numbers very considerably; for, in the days of the Maccabees, they composed a great army, which took the field under their general Timotheus, against the cause of Jewish independence. In a battle which ensued, Judas, the Hebrew leader, gained over them a complete victory, from the effects of which they did not afterwards recover: and, at length, their city Jaser, with the neighbouring towns, fell into the hands of the Jews, who pillaged and burnt them, slew the men, and carried the women and children into bondage.* Their name, however, did not cease to exist till towards the end of the second century of our era; when it was finally absorbed by the rising power of Arabia, which in a little time effaced all the ancient distinctions among the native tribes in the promised land.

VI. Among the several nations of Syria with which the Israelites were connected either as friends or enemies, during the times that the Judges ruled, we find enumerated the very ancient tribe of AMALEK. This people are usually thought to have been descended from a patriarch of the same name, the eldest son of Eliphaz, the first-born of Esau;† but the Arabians, we are told, trace his extraction to a different source, and make him some generations older than Abraham. According to this view of his lineage, he is represented as the son of Ad, who was the son of Uz, who was the grandson of Noah. They say also that the Amalekites, in ancient times, possessed the country about Mecca; whence they were subsequently expelled by the Jorhamite kings.‡

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* 1 Maccab. v. 6—8.

† Genesis xxxvi. "And Timna was concubine to Eliphaz, Esau's son, and she bare to Eliphaz Amalek."

‡ Ancient Universal History, vol. i. p. 383.

There is no doubt that much obscurity hangs over the early separation of Amalek from the family of Edom, which the most learned archæologists have in vain attempted to remove. That event might, indeed, be reasonably ascribed either to the spuriousness of his birth, or to some domestic quarrel with his brethren, who may be supposed to have disputed his right to a part of their inheritance. But when we call to mind the previous wars of the Amalekites with Chedorlaomer; that Balaam described them as the first of the nations; that Moses never styles them the brethren of Israel or of Edom; that the latter never held any friendly intercourse with them, nor formed an alliance in any of their wars, but suffered them to be invaded and butchered by Saul, without offering either aid or remonstrance; and, lastly, that they are always mentioned by the sacred historian with the Amorites, the Hittites, and other Canaanitish nations, and even involved with them in the same curse; we must admit that there is some reason to suspect the foundation of the common opinion as to the lineage of this tribe, and hence, to yield to the Arabian tradition the claim of a fair probability.* Nay, there are some authors who place so much reliance upon the native annals of Idumea, as to conclude that the Amalekites were the shepherds who at a very early period invaded Egypt, and even took possession of the throne of that country. At all events, it cannot be denied that there is a great similarity between the details given by the Arabic historians, concerning the enterprise of the wandering sons of Amalek, and the notices which have been conveyed to us respecting the Phenician pastors, through the channel of the Egyptian priesthood.

* Ancient Universal History, vol. i. p. 383.

But in such inquiries we have neither guide nor authority supplied to us by the sacred Scriptures. That the Amalekites were, at a very remote period, a powerful and a jealous people, is established by the fact, that they no sooner heard of the Israelites having crossed the Red sea, than they resolved to attack them: And when we consider that the host under the direction of Moses consisted of six hundred thousand men who could draw the sword, we are necessarily led to the conclusion that the sons of Amalek must have already flourished a long time on the eastern shore of the Arabian gulf. Josephus informs us, that several of their kings united in this expedition against Israel. Those that induced the rest to do so, says he, were such as inhabited Gobalitis and Petra. They were called *Amalekites*, and were the most warlike of the nations that dwelt in that country.*

Moses himself relates, that when on his march from Rephidim to mount Horeb, the nations of the desert made a furious assault upon his people. The latter, being still ignorant of war, were thrown into great consternation, when they saw themselves about to be attacked by a body of troops, accustomed to the fatigues and predatory life of that savage wilderness. The lawgiver of the Hebrews, accordingly, put more confidence in the aid of Heaven than in the arm of flesh. "Choose us out men," said he to Joshua, "and go out and fight with Amalek; to-morrow I will stand on the top of the hill with the rod of God in mine hand." An action ensued, in which the alternation of success and discomfiture depended upon the personal attitude of the inspired servant of Jehovah; for when his hand was lifted up, Israel prevailed, and when he let down his

* Josephi Antiq. Jud. lib. iii. c. 2. Exod. xvii. 8.

hand, Amalek prevailed.* At length the battle terminated in the complete defeat of the barbarians, who acknowledged the strength of Jacob, and the power of his God. They carried with them, too, in their retreat, the tremendous doom uttered by the mouth of the Omnipotent, that their progeny was to be exterminated, and their name blotted out from the face of the earth. "And the Lord said unto Moses, Write this for a memorial in a book, and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua; for I will utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven."†

But many generations passed before this severe sentence was fully executed. In the interval, it pleased the Divine Wisdom, on several occasions, to employ the sword of the Amalekites as an instrument for punishing the rebellious and murmuring Hebrews. It is related, in the fourteenth chapter of the book of Numbers, that, when Moses had announced to his people the sentence of Jehovah, excluding the generation which came out of Egypt from all participation in the Holy Land, a great number of them attempted, in direct opposition to the will of Heaven, to force their way into the promised territory. And they rose up early in the morning, and gat them up into the top of the mountain, saying, Lo, we, even we, will go up unto the place which the Lord hath promised, for we have already suffered enough.‡ "And Moses said, Where-

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* Exodus xvii. 9, 10, 11. † Exodus xvii. 14.

‡ Numbers xiv. 40. I have used a little freedom in translating this verse, which the sense of the passage seemed to require, and which the idiom of the Hebrew language will certainly permit. The Israelites insisted upon advancing towards the Holy Land, even without the consent and guidance of Moses; but it is surely no good reason for such conduct to say, *for we have sinned*. The import of the expression must be what I have given in the text, "for we have suffered,"—that is, we have already endured sufficient hardship and privation in the wilderness. חטא, signifies not only to *sin*, but to *suffer*.—*See the Lexicons.*

fore do ye now transgress the commandment of the Lord? but it shall not prosper. Go not up, for the Lord is not among you; that ye be not smitten before your enemies. For the Amalekites and the Canaanites are before you, and ye shall fall by the sword: because ye are turned away from the Lord, therefore the Lord will not be with you. But they presumed to go up unto the hill-top: nevertheless the ark of the covenant of the Lord, and Moses, departed not out of the camp. Then the Amalekites came down, and the Canaanites which dwelt in the hill, and smote them, and discomfited them, even unto Hormah."*

This hostility towards Israel continued to exasperate the mind of Amalek, long after the former had taken possession of Canaan, and had relinquished all pretensions to the Arabian wilderness. We find them in alliance with Eglon, king of Moab, when he oppressed the sons of Jacob; with the Ammonites in the day of their power over the same people; and, finally, with the Midianites under Zeba and Zalmunna, when these princes united their strength with the view of expelling the Hebrews altogether from the land on both sides of the Jordan, and of establishing themselves in their place.†

No mention is made of this devoted people during the administration of the later judges. But, in the reign of Saul, the threatening of Jehovah was called to mind; upon which Samuel conveyed to the king of Israel a positive command to lead forth an army against Amalek, and to smite them without mercy; sparing neither man nor woman, infant nor suckling, ox nor sheep, camel nor ass. At the head of two hundred and ten thousand footmen, Saul

* Numbers xiv. 41—45. † Judges iii. 13.; iv. 3.

advanced to attack the ancient enemies of his country, when he gained over them a victory so complete as to be regarded as equivalent to an entire extirpation of the whole race. "He smote them from Havilah until thou comest to Shur, that is over against Egypt. And he took Agag the king of the Amalekites alive, and utterly destroyed all the people with the edge of the sword."*

The name Agag, like that of Pharaoh in Egypt, seems to have been hereditary in the royal house of Amalek; for we read, in the celebrated prediction of Balaam, that their sovereign, in those early days, bore this appellation; and we find that the prince conquered by Saul continued to retain it.† But the antiquity of his descent procured him no favour in the eyes of the prophet Samuel; who, joining to the power which he had recently exercised as judge, the authority which belonged to his spiritual office, gave orders that he should be put to death. The unfortunate monarch was accordingly hewn in pieces before the Lord in Gilgal.‡

The miserable remains of the Amalekites, who escaped the sword of Saul and the still less merciful judgment of the prophet, returned to the desolate fields of their ancestors, whose sins they had now expiated; and there they appear to have lived in peace till the time of David. This son of Jesse, being obliged to flee from the face of Saul, took refuge among the Philistines; whose king, as has been already mentioned, seeing in the youthful warrior a formidable rival to the Hebrew monarch, encouraged his disaffection, and even conferred upon him the city of Ziklag. David, either to secure a subsistence for himself and his followers, or to gratify his protector, who had probably

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* 1 Samuel xv. 2, 3, 4. 7, 8. † Numbers xxiv. 7. ‡ 1 Samuel xv. 32, 33.

some injuries to avenge upon his neighbours, issued forth at the head of his mixed bands, to make an attack on the Amalekites. "And David and his men went up and invaded the Geshurites, and the Gezerites, and the Amalekites; for those nations were of old the inhabitants of the land, as thou goest to Shur, even to the land of Egypt. And David smote the land, and left neither man nor woman alive, and took away the sheep, and the oxen, and the asses, and the camels, and the apparel, and returned, and came to Achish."*

This cruel injury excited in the Amalekites the desire of revenge. Collecting their whole strength, they went up to Ziklag, the residence of David, who, with his fierce troop of marauders, happened then to be absent. The town being surprised in a defenceless state, fell an easy prey to the angry Canaanites, who forthwith plundered it and set it on fire. But with a feeling of moderation which did not always grace the military successes of the Hebrew chieftain, the Amalekites saved the lives of the inhabitants; satisfying themselves with the capture of such prisoners as fell into their hands, among whom were David's two wives, Ahinoam the Jezreelite, and Abigail, who had been spouse to Nabal, the churlish shepherd of mount Carmel.

The victorious Arabs made haste to secure their booty in one of their distant retreats; for which purpose they marched with so much expedition, that they were compelled to leave behind one of their number, who, being sick, was not able to keep pace with them. This person, an Egyptian by birth, fell into the hands of David; who, being informed of what had taken place in his absence,

* 1 Samuel xxvii. 6—9.

lost no time to engage in the pursuit of the predatory Amalekites. The captive, upon receiving an oath that his life should be spared, gave such information respecting the movements of his people, that the son of Jesse had no difficulty in tracing their steps. And when David came down upon them, behold they were spread abroad upon all the earth, eating and drinking, and dancing, because of all the great spoil that they had taken out of the land of the Philistines, and out of the land of Judah. And David smote them from the twilight even unto the evening of the next day; and there escaped not a man of them, save four hundred young men, which rode upon camels, and fled.*

In this manner David saved at once his reputation and his life; for the inhabitants of Ziklag were so incensed at the neglect by which their city had been exposed to so furious an assault, that they threatened to put him to death: "the people spake of stoning him, because the soul of all the people was grieved, every man for his sons and for his daughters." The Amalekites, on the other hand, appear not to have again lifted a weapon in opposition to Israel during the reign of any future king. The last blow which was inflicted upon them, and which seems to have terminated their existence as a separate people, is recorded in the annals of Hezekiah; in whose time, the Simeonites "smote their tents, and their habitations that were found there, and destroyed them utterly unto this day, and dwelt in their room. And they smote the rest of the Amalekites that escaped."†

It has been remarked, that the enmity which Haman entertained against the Jews, arose from his connection

* 1 Samuel xxx. 11—17. † 1 Chronicles iv. 41. 43.

with the Amalekites, from whom he is said to have derived his descent. He is described in the book of Esther as the son of Hammedatha, the Agagite, the Jew's enemy; and it is well known that, but for the interposition of the patriotic queen of Ahasuerus, he would, in one day, have compensated all the evils which his nation had received at the hands of the Hebrews.*

VII. Of the SYRIANS, considered as a separate people, we have not yet taken any particular notice. The proper name of their country is Aram, derived, it is thought, from the youngest son of Shem. Owing to the very vague meaning of the term Syria, which soon superseded the more ancient appellation, it has become extremely difficult to determine the boundaries of the land which originally pertained to the descendants of Aram. The limits of that kingdom have frequently shifted; having at one time comprehended Mesopotamia and the greater part of the territory westward of the Euphrates; and being at another period rigidly restricted to the narrow dominions of Zobah and Damascus. The proper Syria is usually defined as being situated between the Mediterranean on the west, the Euphrates on the east, mount Taurus on the north, and the desert of Arabia, Palestine, and Phenicia on the south; stretching from the thirty-fourth to the thirty-eighth degree of north latitude.†

Leaving these details to the general historian or professed antiquary, we cannot, however, pass by the remarkable district of Palmyrene, a spacious and fertile province in the midst of a frightful desert. There were in it two principal towns, Thapsacus and Palmyra, from the latter of which the whole country took its name. The inhabitants having re-

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* Esther iii. 10. † See Ancient Universal History, vol. i. p. 431.

volted from the emperor Aurelian, and pledged their faith to an adventurer called Antiochus, or Achilles, who had assumed the purple, this splendid town was destroyed and rased to the ground. The emperor, repenting of his hasty resolution, gave orders that Palmyra should be immediately rebuilt; but so inefficient were the measures which he adopted, or so imperfectly was he obeyed in their execution, that the city in the desert has ever since been remarkable only as a mass of magnificent ruins.

Solomon, it is well known, took pleasure in adding to its beauty and strength, as being one of his principal fortresses on the eastern border; and hence it is spoken of in Scripture as "Tadmor in the wilderness." Josephus calls it Thadamor; the Seventy recognise it under the name of Theodmor and Thedmor; while the Arabs and Syrians at the present day keep alive the remembrance of its ancient glory as Tadmor, Tadmier, and Tatmor. But of Solomon's labours not one vestige remains. The first object which now presents itself to the traveller who approaches this forlorn place, is a castle of mean architecture and uncertain origin, about half an hour's walk from the city on the north side. "From thence we descry Tadmor, enclosed on three sides by long ridges of mountains; but to the south is a vast plain which bounds the visible horizon. The barren soil presents nothing green but a few palm-trees. The city must have been of large extent, if we may judge from the space now taken up by the ruins; but as there are no traces of its walls, its real dimensions and form remain equally unknown. It is now a deplorable spectacle, inhabited by thirty or forty miserable families, who have built huts of mud within a spacious court which once enclosed a magnificent heathen temple."*

* See Maundrell, Volney, Ancient Universal History, and Schulten's Geographical Commentary.

The Syrians continued long under the government of some petty kings, who so divided the strength of their fine country, that they rendered it not less unavailable for conquest than for defence. Even in the days of Saul we find several of these chiefs summoned by Benhadad to attend him in his wars. It has been conjectured, indeed, that their political regimen was not at all times monarchical, and even that Damascus itself, in the reign of David, was only the head of a small commonwealth. It is said, for example, that the "Syrians of Damascus," not their king, sent twenty thousand men to the relief of Hadarezer, king of Zobah,—a passage of Scripture which has been thought to imply a kind of republican authority in the people.* But this distinction is too minute to support the argument which has been founded upon it. Besides, it is certain that the government of Zobah was regal, as well as that of the subordinate states which it originally comprehended; while Damascus, as soon as it became fully known to history, exhibited all the features of an unmixed despotism, extending its power on both sides of the Euphrates.

The Kings of Zobah or Sophene were as follows:

According to Scripture.	According to Josephus.	Contemporary with
Rehob.	Arach.	Saul.
Hadadezer or Hadarezer.	Adrazar.	David.

* 1 Samuel viii. 5, 6. Ancient Universal History, vol. i. p. 442.

The Kings of Damascus.

According to Scripture.	According to Nicolas Damas.
———	Adad I.
Rezen.	Adad II.
Hezion.	Adad III.
Tabrimon.	Adad IV.
Benhadad I.	Adad V.
Benhadad II.	Adad VI.
Hazael.	Adad VII.
Benhadad III.	Adad VIII.
———	Adad IX.
Rezen.	Adad X.

According to Josephus.	Contemporary with
——	David.
Adad.	Solomon.
——	Rehoboam.
Adad.	Abijam.
——	Asa.
Adad.	Jehoshaphat and Jehoram.
Hazael.	Ahaziah and Joash.
Adad.	Amaziah.
——	Uzziah.
Rases or Arases.	Jotham and Ahaz.

The Kings of Hamath.

According to Scripture.	According to Josephus.	Contemporary with
Toi.	Thanus.	David.
Joram or Hadoram.	Joram.	———
———	———	———

The Kings of Geshur.

According to Scripture.	Contemporary with
Ammihud.	Saul.
Talmai.	David.

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Rehob is here supposed to have been the first king of Zobah, whose government extended over the whole of the united principalities, which were formerly spread over that part of Syria, and enjoyed a nominal independence. His son, a monarch of considerable power and unbounded ambition, undertook to dispute with David for the supremacy of Canaan. He had indeed gained several advantages over the king of Hamath; but he no sooner attempted to oppose the progress of the Jewish sovereign, in reducing under his dominion the land promised to the seed of Abraham, than his good fortune entirely forsook him. In the first battle which he fought with the son of Jesse, he lost a thousand chariots, seven thousand horse and twenty thousand foot. It was on this occasion that the Syrians of Damascus sent their army to his assistance. But, says the inspired author of the book of Samuel, when they came to succour Hadarezer, king of Zobah, David slew of the Syrians two and twenty thousand men. Then David put garrisons in Syria of Damascus; and the Syrians became servants unto David, and brought gifts.†

* The above table is copied from the Ancient Universal History, volume first, page 456, where the compilers say, "we have not observed the seniority of these kingdoms, by placing them either in an exact collateral or successive order; but have given the second place to Damascus, because it rose upon the ruins of Zobah; though Hamath and Geshur were the most ancient kingdoms."

† 2 Samuel viii. 3—6.

This victory, on the part of David, operated in two ways against Hadarezer, and greatly reduced his power. Not only were several cities taken and plundered by the Hebrew army, and an immense booty in gold and brass carried away to the land of Israel; but, in addition to these losses, the Syrian king had the mortification to find that Toi, the ruler of Hamath, had formed an alliance with his enemy and courted his protection. "When Toi, king of Hamath, heard that David had smitten all the host of Hadarezer, then Toi sent Joram his son unto king David, to salute him, and to bless him, because he had fought against Hadarezer, and smitten him; for Hadarezer had wars with Toi."*

But we ought not to interpret the words of Scripture so literally as to conclude, because the Syrians are said to have become servants to David, and to bring presents to him, that the kingdom of Zobah was then entirely dissolved. That such was not the immediate effect produced by the triumphs of Israel, is made manifest by some important events which afterwards ensued. For example, it was subsequently to the defeat just mentioned, that Hadarezer furnished to Hanun, king of Ammon, twenty thousand men to lead against the army commanded by Joab. His ally being soon after routed with great slaughter by the Hebrew general, he determined, in the following year, to make a powerful effort to retrieve the affairs of both kingdoms, and to repress, if possible, the ambitious views of their warlike neighbours. With these intentions, he summoned all the petty kings who owed him homage, as well from Syria proper as from Mesopotamia; desiring them to rally round his standard with all the forces they

* 2 Sam. viii. 8, 9, 10.

could muster: and having, by such means, assembled a very considerable army, he placed it under the direction of Shobach, the most experienced of his commanders, with orders to co-operate with Hanun against the common enemy. The issue of this enterprise has been already described. The Syrian host was defeated with great carnage at Helam; their general was slain in the field of battle; and the vassal princes, finding that Hadarezer could no longer protect them, or compel their obedience, abjured their allegiance, and acknowledged the superiority of Israel.* Whether the king of Zobah himself followed their example, in this respect, has not been clearly ascertained; but it admits of no doubt, that his people must have sunk down into obscurity, and, soon afterwards, allowed themselves to merge in the rising power of Damascus; for they are not again mentioned as a separate nation in any part of the sacred volume.

Of the kings of Hamath, who, on the defeat of Hadarezer, placed themselves under the protection of Israel, there is very little to be learned, either in profane history or in the Scriptures. They are supposed to have derived their origin from that class of Syrians who were descended from Canaan, the son of Ham, and to have had the seat of their power in a district considerably northward of the Holy Land. Josephus, at least, gives it this position; while Abulfeda, who is thought to have had better means of information, relates, that Hamath was situated on the Orontes between Hems and Apamea. In regard, again, to their political connections, it remains doubtful whether, upon the separation of the ten tribes, they did not resume a species of independence, and were, after a brief

* 2 Samuel x. 19.

interval, a second time obliged to own a master in the sovereign of Damascus. It should seem, too, that, upon the decline of this latter power, the Hamathites once more raised their heads as a free state; of which a certain degree of indirect evidence may be gathered from the vaunting speech of Rab-shakeh, who ranks in the list of his master's conquests the reduction of their country. "Where are the gods of Hamath?"*

The history of the Geshurites is not less obscure than that of which I have now given so brief an outline. Perhaps Josephus is in the right, when he maintains that they never rose to the dignity of a royal house, but were merely a family of some note and importance in the land where they dwelt. They are, however, recognised as kings by the sacred writers; one of whom informs us, that Absalom, after he had murdered Amnon, fled and went to Talmai, king of Geshur, and was there three years.† The first of the race alluded to in the Bible is Ammihud, the father of Talmai; and as Maacha, a daughter of the latter prince, became the wife of David, and mother of Absalom, the rulers of Geshur were thereby elevated to a point of rank and influence which they could not, it is probable, have otherwise attained. In the end, like the rest of the small Syrian states, the Geshurites disappeared among the tributaries of the Assyrian monarchy, and lost at once their name and their independence.‡

When we turn to the sovereigns of Damascus, we find the materials of history not only more abundant, but much more interesting. The greatness of this kingdom appears

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* 2 Kings xviii. 34. † 2 Samuel xiii. 37, 38.

‡ Ancient Universal History, vol. i. p. 468. Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. vii. c. 8.

to have originated in the decline of Zobah; for we read, in the first book of the Kings, that Rezon, the son of Eliadah, fled from his lord, Hadarezer, king of Zobah, and gathered men unto him, and became captain over a band, and they went to Damascus, and dwelt therein, and reigned in Damascus. It is added, that this Rezon was an adversary to Israel all the days of Solomon; that he abhorred Israel and reigned over Syria.*

His two immediate successors were of a more pacific disposition, and lived on terms of amity with the Hebrew princes. But, at length, the celebrated Benhadad mounted the throne; who, taking part with Asa, king of Judah, against Baasha, king of Israel, invaded the country of the latter, and reduced Ijon, Dan, Abel-beth-maachah, all Cinneroth, and the land of Naphtali.† He was succeeded by a son of the same name, who vigorously prosecuted the enmity of his father against Israel. In the first expedition which he undertook, he had no fewer than thirty-two kings in his train, followed by an immense number of chariots, horsemen, and foot soldiers. Sitting down with this powerful host before Samaria, he summoned Ahab to surrender, and to acknowledge himself his vassal; desiring him, at the same time, to deliver up to his mercy all his wives and children. To this insolent message, the pusillanimous prince returned a most submissive answer; resigning himself and all that he possessed to the will of the haughty Syrian. "My lord, O king, according to thy saying, I am thine, and all that I have." Not satisfied with this humiliating compliance on the part of the Israelitish monarch, Benhadad sent his messengers to inform him that, on the following day, he would despatch officers to search

* 1 Kings xi. 23, 24, 25.

† 1 Kings xv. 20.

his palace and the city, and to carry away all his wealth, and whatsoever was pleasant in his eyes. This threatened indignity at length roused the dormant spirit of Ahab; who, encouraged by his counsellors and the elders of his city, declared to the besieger that he would not submit to a condition so extremely offensive and debasing. "Wherefore, he said unto the messengers of Benhadad, Tell my lord, the king, all that thou didst send for to thy servant at the first will I do, but this thing I may not do." The refusal irritated the proud feelings of the Syrian despot. He declared that he would bring up such an army against Samaria, that were every soldier to take even one handful of earth, the whole land would be removed.* Ahab made no other return to this foolish menace, except an admonition to his adversary to found his triumphs upon deeds rather than upon words. "Let not him that girdeth on his harness boast as he that putteth it off."†

The Syrian army now received orders to invest the city of Samaria in form, and to prepare for the assault. In the mean time, Benhadad, who seems to have been a very voluptuous prince, followed his pleasures, heedless of all danger. But, in the midst of his security and carousals, he was told that a party of Israelites was seen advancing from the city; which intelligence at first created a slight alarm in the camp, and even disturbed the king himself. Upon ascertaining that the number of the enemy was too insignificant to excite any apprehension, he gave directions that, whatever might be their purpose, they should be brought alive into his presence; and then returned to his sottish enjoyments. The small body of citizens who had issued from the gates, consisted of Ahab himself and a hundred and thirty-two young men; who,

* 1 Kings xx. 1—21. † 1 Kings xx. 11.

though it was noon-day, had been encouraged by a prophet to go out and fall upon the mighty host of the Syrians. The latter not imagining that a handful of soldiers, however brave or desperate, could meditate an attack upon an army at once so numerous and so well appointed, were taken by surprise; and, before they had time to assume their arms, they found themselves assailed with the most determined fury, and cut in pieces by Ahab and his chosen band. A general panic seized the camp, and every one prepared for flight. Benhadad himself mounted a horse and joined the fugitives; many of whom, being pursued by the victorious Hebrews, were slain in their confused and hasty retreat.

This unexpected discomfiture covered the Syrians with the deepest shame, and created amongst them mutual recrimination and contempt. Endeavouring to find some apology for their inglorious flight, they suggested that the gods of the Israelites were more powerful on the hills than the divinities of Syria; and that, on this account alone, Ahab and his company had been crowned with success: assuring their king, at the same time, that if he would draw up his army in the plain, his gods, whose influence was most commonly exerted on level ground, would restore in his favour the fortune of the war. They insinuated, moreover, that his allies had not shown sufficient ardour in the cause; that their leaders were deficient in skill; and that there was a want of co-operation in the camp as well as in the field. They concluded by advising him to raise another army equal to the former, chariot for chariot, horse for horse, and advance against the Israelites with the fullest confidence of victory.

The Syrian monarch hearkened to this specious counsel. In the following year he marched against the king of Israel with a similar army; as if determined to rea-

lize his empty boast, and carry off Samaria in the hollow of their hands. True to the advice which he had received respecting the gods of the hills, he encamped his forces at Aphek, in a champaign country; where the deities of his native land might have full scope for all their art and power. After waiting seven days in the presence of a small body of Hebrews, he thought proper to engage; when he lost, of foot soldiers only, not less than one hundred thousand. The rest fled with precipitation to the stronghold of Aphek; where twenty-seven thousand of their number were crushed to death by the city wall, which fell upon them as they were about to enter the gates.

Benhadad, now finding that no reliance could be placed upon his gods, abandoned himself to despair. He sought concealment within the city of Aphek, which he resolved to defend against the conqueror; when his followers reminded him that the kings of Israel were not wont to pursue their advantages to extremity, and added the assurance that Ahab would probably receive him with kindness and treat him like a brother. To engage the compassion of that monarch, a certain number of the Syrian officers consented to go forth to him with sackcloth on their loins and ropes about their necks, and to entreat his clemency in behalf of their master. Ahab could not resist these tokens of humility and submission, but expressed a desire to have an immediate personal interview with Benhadad. The latter no sooner appeared than he was taken into the chariot of the Israelitish sovereign; to whom he made a promise to restore all that his father had wrested from the ten tribes, and even to grant to them certain privileges in the city of Damascus. A peace was concluded, and the Syrian prince restored to liberty.*

* 1 Kings xx. 1—34.

Ahab soon found that he had confided too much in the assurances of his captive. Benhadad, unwilling to relinquish the hold which his predecessors had obtained upon Israel, refused to give up Ramoth-Gilead; upon which the other, enraged at the ingratitude and faithlessness with which he had been treated, resolved to recruit his armies and to take the city by force. He prevailed on Jehoshaphat, the king of Judah, to be his auxiliary in this war; and, accordingly, the two monarchs, at the head of a large body of troops, directed their march to Ramoth. The Syrians were prepared to receive them, and to determine the dispute in a general action. The precautions adopted by Ahab, to save his life in the field, are familiar to every reader of Scripture. He disguised himself before he went into the battle, while Jehoshaphat put on his royal robes: But all his cares were fruitless; for one of the enemy, drawing a bow at a venture, smote him between the joints of his harness, and wounded him mortally. He retired from the scene of conflict, bleeding profusely; and lived only long enough to reach his capital, and to fulfil the predictions of the indignant prophet. The fight continued until the shades of night allowed each party to withdraw, with great loss, and doubtful claims of victory.*

The Syrian army was led on this occasion by the celebrated Naaman, who was shortly afterwards cured by Elisha of a dangerous malady.† His sense of this great obligation is supposed to have had a good effect upon the policy of his country; which was thereafter more disposed to cultivate the relations of peace than to dispute the possession of insignificant towns, or the occupancy of a portion of desert. It is, moreover, imagined that the Syrian

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* 1 Kings xxii. 3—35. † 2 Kings v. 15.

captain renounced idolatry, and acknowledged from the heart that there was no god in all the earth but in Israel. The testimony, however, is not free from suspicion; and, at all events, we are supplied with too few facts to warrant any positive conclusion respecting the views of Naaman.

But whatever might be the sentiments of the victorious general in regard to the divine authority of the Jewish religion, it is certain that Benhadad himself remained equally sceptical and obdurate. Renewing his designs against Israel, he fixed a time and a place for encamping his troops; when, to his surprise, he discovered that all his plans were known to the enemy. His suspicions being directed towards his own officers, they, in their defence, suggested to him that all the information obtained by the king of Israel was conveyed by Elisha, the man of God. "The heart of the king of Syria was sore troubled for this thing; and he called his servants and said unto them, Will ye not show me which of us is for the king of Israel? And one of his servants said, None, O king: but Elisha, the prophet that is in Israel, telleth the king of Israel the words that thou speakest in thy bed-chamber."*

The infatuated Syrian allowed himself to imagine that, by force of arms, he could subdue the opposition which he had to encounter from a worker of miracles. "And he said, Go, spy where he is, that I may send and fetch him. And it was told him, saying, Behold he is in Dothan. Therefore sent he thither horses and chariots, and a great host: and they came by night and compassed the city about. And when the servant of the Lord was risen early and was gone forth, behold an host compassed the city both with horses and chariots."† At the prayers of

* 2 Kings vi. 11, 12. † 2 Kings vi. 13—15.

Elisha the Syrians were smitten with blindness, and fell into his hands afflicted and defenceless. He conducted the principal men into Samaria, and placed them before the king; upon which their sight was immediately restored and the peril of their situation rendered manifest. Joram, who was at that time on the throne of Israel, seemed inclined to put them to death; but the prophet, actuated by a better spirit, recommended to his youthful sovereign clemency and hospitality. "And the king said unto Elisha, when he saw them, My father, shall I smite them, shall I smite them? And he answered, Thou shalt not smite them: wouldst thou smite those whom thou hast taken captive with thy sword and with thy bow? Set bread and water before them, that they may eat and drink and go to their master. And he prepared great provision for them, and when they had eaten and drunk, he sent them away, and they went to their master. So the bands of Syria came no more into the land of Israel."*

The remark with which the last paragraph concludes, could only apply to the occasion by which it was suggested; or, perhaps, it was meant to express nothing more than the fact that the Syrians had not again recourse to such concealed arts for accomplishing their views against the Hebrews. That it was not intended to impress on the mind of the reader, the belief of a total cessation of hostilities between the rival kingdoms of Israel and Damascus, is perfectly evident from the construction of the narrative; for it is immediately added, "and it came to pass after this that Benhadad, king of Syria, gathered all his host, and went up and besieged Samaria."

The circumstances which attended this memorable

* 2 Kings vii. 6, 7.

siege; the sufferings which were endured by the inhabitants from a scarcity of provisions; the resolution with which they held out against the powerful host which beleaguered their walls; and the miraculous source whence they at length derived relief, are all recorded by the sacred historian in the most eloquent language. When the city was reduced to the last extremity, so that an ass's head was sold for fourscore pieces of silver, and the fourth part of a cab of dove's dung for five pieces of silver, the camp of the Syrians was broken up by one of those incidents which, though supernatural in their origin, are yet closely connected with the history of oriental warfare. In the course of the night, the Lord made the host of the Syrians to hear a noise of chariots and a noise of horses, even the noise of a great host: and they said one to another, Lo! the king of Israel hath hired against us the kings of the Hittites, and the kings of the Egyptians, to come upon us. Wherefore they rose and fled in the twilight, and left their tents, and their horses, and their asses, even the camp as it was, and fled for their life.*

The warlike and ambitious Benhadad was now drawing towards the close of his career, which had proved very fatal to Israel and Judah. Being overtaken by sickness, he sent one of his superior officers to Elisha, who happened to be at Damascus, to inquire concerning his fate. The reply was ambiguous, importing that he might recover, but was certainly to die,—a form of words which Hazael interpreted so as to meet the objects of his own aspiring views. He returned to the old king, whom he first flattered with the hopes of convalescence and then murdered. "It came to pass on the morrow, that he

* 2 Kings vi. 21—23.

took a thick cloth and dipped it in water, and spread it on his face, so that he died."*

Of Benhadad, the Jewish historian remarks that he was an active man, and had the good-will of the Syrians and of the people of Damascus to a great degree; by whom both he and Hazael, who ruled after him, are honoured to this day as gods. He adds, that when Joram, the king of Israel, heard of his death, he recovered from his terror, and was happy to live in peace.†

It is not without some surprise we learn that Hazael was anointed to the kingly office over Syria, by the hand of Elijah. That ambitious adventurer was, indeed, raised to the throne by the providence of God, to be a scourge for chastising the wickedness of the chosen people; and, on this account, the ministry of the prophet, in the case now before us, was perfectly agreeable to the vocation which had been adressed to him by the voice of Heaven. "The Lord said unto him, Go, return on thy way to the wilderness of Damascus, and when thou comest, anoint Hazael to be king over Syria: and Jehu the son of Nimshi shalt thou anoint to be king over Israel. And it shall come to pass that him that escapeth the sword of Hazael shall Jehu slay."‡

When this aspiring leader had been some time in possession of supreme power, his fiery spirit was roused by an attack made upon his territory by Joram, king of Israel, and Amaziah, king of Judah. The claim of the former upon Ramoth-Gilead was revived; and an attempt for its recovery, similar to that which failed in the days of Benhadad, was again undertaken by the confederated kings. It would appear that they now succeeded

* 2 Kings viii. 15. † Antiq. Jud. lib. ix. c. 4.
‡ 1 Kings xix. 15, 16.

either in reducing the city, or in obtaining it by capitulation; for we are assured, in the ninth chapter of the second book of the Kings, that Ramoth-Gilead was in the hands of Joram and of all Israel. But the sovereign now named was dangerously wounded at the siege, and returned to Jezreel to be cured; and as the conspiracy headed by Jehu deprived both him and Ahaziah of their sceptres, before they could avail themselves of their success against Syria, the historian passes on, with a simple allusion to this event, to other matters more important to his narrative.

But if Hazael was deprived of one city by the united forces of Israel and Judah, he obtained, during his repeated inroads into the lands of these kindred nations, an ample compensation and revenge. Even the impetuous valour of Jehu could not save his country: for in those days the Lord began to cut Israel short, and Hazael smote them in all their coasts; from Jordan eastward all the land of Gilead, the Gadites, and the Reubenites, and the Manassites, from Aroer, which is by the river Arnon, even Gilead and Bashan. Josephus informs us that, in the course of this expedition, the Syrian chief fully realized the prediction of the prophet concerning his sanguinary and vindictive temper; for he spared neither man, woman, nor child, but put all to the sword.

Nor was the son of Jehu more fortunate in his wars with Damascus. In his days the oppression of Israel was very great under the hand of this formidable enemy. There were "not left to Jehoahaz but fifty horsemen, and ten chariots, and ten thousand footmen, for the king of Syria had destroyed them, and made them like the dust by thrashing."*

* 2 Kings xiii. 3, 4, 7. 22.

Having thus punished the inconstancy of the ten tribes, Hazael next directed his arms against the king of Judah. He passed the Jordan, reduced the strong city of Gath, now become a possession of David's house and a royal residence, and made preparations for attacking Jerusalem itself. But he was diverted from the enterprise by the submission and rich gifts which were presented to him by the dastardly Jehoahaz, who at that period bore the sceptre of Judah and Benjamin. The Syrian, allowing himself to be turned aside for a time from the entire conquest of the Holy Land, departed, loaded with gold and other valuable treasure, only to arrange the means for undertaking a still more formidable invasion. Accordingly, before the year had expired, he sent a strong body of troops, to attack the capital of Judea, and to enrich his numerous soldiers with booty and slaves. "And they came to Judah and Jerusalem, and destroyed all the princes of the people from among the people, and sent all the spoil of them unto the king of Damascus."*

Hazael raised the power of Syria to its meridian strength; he extended its conquests as far as Elath on the Red sea; he subdued the richest parts of Israel and of Judah; and kept both kingdoms in a state of subjection during the latter portion of his reign.† But his successor, Benhadad, inherited neither his talents nor his fortune. The courage of the Hebrew tribes once more returned: the armies of Syria ceased to be invincible; and Jehoash, the son of Jehoahaz, regained in three pitched battles all

* 2 Chronicles xxiv. 23.

† This conquest of Elath by Hazael seems to be very much a matter of inference. I cannot find any direct statement to that effect; and it is only because Rezin is said to have *recovered* it, that the previous capture is believed.

that his father had lost.* Jeroboam, also, his heir on the throne, followed up his victories against the Syrians. He prosecuted the war until he recovered for Israel Damascus and Hamath, which belonged to Judah; nor did he lay down his arms before he had the satisfaction of seeing his native country possessed of her ancient domains, and able to defend her rights against all her enemies round about.

Some time after the death of Jeroboam, the Syrians once more turned their thoughts to the conquest of Canaan. Rezin, their last sovereign, towards the close of his reign, entered into a league with Pekah, the king of Israel, against Ahaz, king of Judah, with a design to dethrone the latter, and to set up in his place, an adventurer named Tabeel, who could claim no connection with the family of David. In prosecution of this object they besieged Ahaz in Jerusalem; but finding that they could not succeed in their undertaking, they withdrew their army from the walls. It is to this occurrence that Isaiah alludes when he observes, "it was told the house of David, saying, Syria is confederate with Ephraim. And his heart was moved and the heart of his people as the trees of the wood are moved with the wind. Then said the Lord, Go forth and meet Ahab, and say unto him, Take heed and be quiet; fear not, neither be faint-hearted for the two tails of these smoking firebrands, for the fierce anger of Rezin with Syria, and for the son of Remaliah."†

Disappointed in the main purpose of his expedition, the Syrian monarch marched into Edom, and made himself master of Elath on the Red sea; where he planted a colony of seamen and merchants, which flourished many

* 2 Kings xiii. 25.

† Isaiah vii. 2, 3, 4.

years after the final subversion of his kingdom.* Nor had he in the meanwhile finally relinquished his views against Judah. In the commencement of the following year, he renewed his confederacy with Pekah, and once more entered the dominions of Ahaz; who, notwithstanding the warning which he had received the foregoing season, appears to have been quite unprepared for this attack. He was not only a weak but a very wicked prince, "wherefore the Lord delivered him into the hand of the king of Syria; and they smote him, and carried away a great multitude of them captive, and brought them to Damascus: and he was also delivered into the hand of the king of Israel, who smote him with a great slaughter. For Pekah the son of Remaliah slew in Judah an hundred and twenty thousand in one day, which were all valiant men; because they had forsaken the Lord God of their fathers. And the children of Israel carried away captive of their brethren two hundred thousand, women, sons, and daughters, and took also away much spoil from them, and brought it unto Samaria."†

But this successful inroad proved fatal to the confederated kings and to their respective dominions; for Ahaz, perceiving that he could no longer defend his borders, bribed Tiglathpileser, the monarch of Assyria, to attack Rezin and Pekah, and to inflict upon them the revenge which he himself could only cherish in his heart. "Ahaz sent messengers to the king of Assyria, saying, I am thy servant and thy son; come up and save me out of the hand of the king of Syria, and out of the hand of the

* "He *recovered* Elath to Syria," are the words of our version. The Vulgate bears the same meaning, "In tempore illo *restituit* Razin rex Syriæ Ailam Syriæ." Whence it has been inferred that Elath was subdued by Hazael when he sent part of his army against Jerusalem.—*An. Un. Hist.*

† 2 Chronicles xxviii. 5—8.

king of Israel, which rise up against me. And Ahaz took the silver and gold that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the treasures of the king's house, and he sent it for a present to the king of Assyria. And the king of Assyria hearkened unto him; for the king of Assyria went up against Damascus, and took it, and carried the people of it captive to Kir, and slew Rezin. And thus was fulfilled the prediction of Isaiah, who said, Behold, Damascus is taken away from being a city, and the kingdom shall cease from Damascus, and the remnant of Syria. I will send fire, says Amos, into the house of Hazael, which shall devour the palaces of Benhadad. I will cut off him that holdeth the sceptre from the house of Eden: and the people of Syria shall go into captivity unto Kir, saith the Lord."*

Concerning the laws and religious usages which distinguished the ancient Syrians, we have already spoken in the chapter which treats of the superstitions of Canaan. It is certain they had many idols, the names of which are well known to every reader of Scripture; the chief of whom was Rimmon, whose temple stood at Damascus. This ancient god is supposed to have given place to one of their deified monarchs, whose character and reputation induced his sottish people to worship him as a divinity, under the appellation of Adar or Ader. Some have imagined that this favoured prince was Benhadad the Second; but it is more probable that such a token of popular veneration was bestowed upon Hazael, who raised their country to the highest pitch of greatness, and whose reign was a continued series of prosperity and brilliant exploits. Josephus, indeed, asserts that both of these kings enjoyed

* Isaiah xvii. 1—3; Amos i. 4, 5. Ancient Universal History, vol. i. p. 467.

the apotheosis; and as Adad or Hadad was a name common to all the kings of Syria, it might be applied indiscriminately to the one and to the other.*

At the conquest of Tiglathpileser, a new form of idolatry was introduced among the Syrians, by the colonists who were sent from the banks of the Tigris to occupy their vacant land. What other changes took place in the national worship, under the Babylonians, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans, it were vain to inquire, because we have no means of obtaining satisfactory knowledge; but for an account of their ritual, as it existed in the second century of the Christian era, with all its grotesque and impure observances, the reader is referred to that particular tract of Lucian, which bears the title of the Syrian Goddess.

The learning of ancient Syria has transmitted to us no specimens to confirm the eulogies which have been bestowed upon it by some of the Christian fathers. Clemens of Alexandria divides between this people and the Phenicians the honour of having invented letters, and of extending their use among the surrounding nations.† Nor can it admit of doubt that the local position of the Syrians, and the intercourse which subsisted between them and the most polished tribes of the East, must have afforded the best opportunities of profiting by the advancement of knowledge, and even of adding to its increasing stock.

The Syrian language, like that of most eastern countries, was very deficient in written vowels till towards the latter end of the eighth century; when, as is generally supposed, they were introduced by Theophilus of Edessa, chief astronomer to the khalif Al Mohdi. This learned

* Josephi Antiq. Jud. lib. vii. c. 6. Ancient Universal History, vol. i. p. 443.

† Clem. Alex. Strom. 1.

person borrowed some characters from the Greek alphabet, and first made use of them to denote the proper pronunciation of names and titles in his Syriac translation of the works of Homer. The marks which he adopted to express these peculiar sounds, still retain very nearly the exact form of five of the Greek vowels—the two long and the three doubtful—for the Syriac tongue, we are informed, rejects all short vocal utterances. About a century, indeed, before the time of Theophilus, one of his countrymen, the celebrated James of Edessa, invented seven new characters, corresponding to the more complete alphabet of their western neighbours; some traces of which, as well as of more important imitations, are still extant in the works of contemporaneous authors.*

Of the arts, the commerce, and the manners of the ancient Syrians, we know as little as of their literature and education. But that, in all these branches of human pursuit, they had accomplished much more than can be now established by sufficient evidence, will be readily admitted by those who have marked the effects of the obliterating hand of time, on the most splendid monuments of human power and genius. For example, the industry of man had already made a great conquest over the sterility of nature, in the vast desert which divides Palestine from the ancient confines of Babylonia; for, even at the present day, there are still traces of a great canal, ten leagues westward from the Euphrates, which must have flowed five hundred miles in the same direction with the parent river, spreading beauty and vegetation over the face of the wilderness. Such a work, executed, it is probable, in a very remote antiquity, argues a considerable advancement

* Asseman. Biblioth. Orient. tom. i. p. 497. Bernard. Tab. Alphab.

in the arts of social life; and proves, moreover, that good land had become so valuable as to induce the agriculturist to extend his means for supplying the wants and comforts of an increased population.*

VIII. But some of these inquiries may be more properly introduced when employed in giving an account of the PHENICIANS; of whose history, as connected with that of the Israelites, I now proceed to exhibit a short abridgment.

Much difference of opinion has existed among biblical critics and antiquaries respecting the origin of this singular people. Bochart, who thinks they were descendants of Canaan, suggests that, being ashamed of their extraction, and desirous to avoid the effects of the curse denounced against their ancestor, they changed their name into Phenicians, Syrians, and Syro-Phenicians.† Heidegger adopted the same views, and maintained that the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon were certainly Canaanites. The authors of the Ancient Universal History observe, that it is everywhere allowed the Phenicians were Canaanites by descent. Nothing, they add, is plainer or less contested, and, therefore, it were time lost to prove it. "We shall only add, that their blood must have been mixed with that of foreigners in process of time, as it happens in all trading places; and that many strange families must have settled among them, who could consequently lay no claim to this remote origin, how much soever they may have been

* Gillies's History of Greece, vol. i. part second, p. 89.

† Phaleg, lib. iv. cap. 34. Jam si roges cur Phœnices, si vero essent posteri Chanaan, in Græcorum monumentis Chananæi nunquam vocantur: respondebo Chananæos pudisse sui nominis, et desiisse sic appellari, propter anathema contortum in patrem suum Chanaan: maxime cum viderent a Judæis se bello peti internecino, et magnis affligi cladibus, non alia de causa quam quod Chanaanæi essent.

called Phenicians, and reckoned of the same descent with the ancient proprietors."* Perhaps, an additional argument for their Canaanitish origin might be derived from the fact, that the country which they occupied in Palestine was included in the inheritance assigned to the tribes of Israel; and, moreover; that they are mentioned in the list of those nations from whom the Almighty had at different times delivered his chosen people.† They are, besides, ranked indiscriminately with those Canaanites whom the sons of Jacob did not expel from the promised land: for while we read that the Asherites "did not drive out the inhabitants of Accho, nor the inhabitants of Zidon, nor of Ahiab, nor of Achzib, nor of Keebah, nor of Aphik, nor of Rehob;" we are also informed that "the Asherites dwelt among the *Canaanites*, the inhabitants of the land."‡

Sir William Drummond, in his late work on the origin of eastern nations, has given an eloquent and faithful statement of the arguments which might be employed on both sides of the question. In support of the hypothesis that the Phenicians were of a root and lineage quite different from those of the Canaanites, he reminds the reader that, among all the eleven tribes or families descended from the grandson of Ham, the people who inhabited Tyre and Sidon are not to be found. The Scripture enables us to trace the settlements and ramifications of the former over the face of the whole country which had fallen to their lot; but they are nowhere said to have given birth to a race who bore the name of Phenicians.

In the next place, he lays some stress upon the circum-

* Ancient Universal History, vol. ii. p. 10.
† Judges x. 12.
‡ Judges i. 31, 32.

stance that the Asherites, to whose share the sea-coast of Phenicia was assigned, did not insist upon their departure from the towns and rich fields which they had long possessed; but entered into a treaty with them, or, at least, exercised such a degree of forbearance as implied that the invaders would content themselves, for a time, with the occupation of the hill-country. But this, it is obvious, is not a very cogent argument, and would not be pressed by any wise controversialist; for every reader of the book of Judges must, at the first glance, perceive that the Hebrews showed a similar forbearance towards several other nations which were avowedly sprung from the son of Ham, and consequently involved in the malediction which they were commissioned to execute. The Israelites being all armed as foot soldiers, soon discovered that they were not able to stand in the field against the chariots and horsemen of Canaan; on which account, they prudently postponed the conquest of their promised inheritance, until experience and a better discipline should have rendered them a more equal match for such formidable warriors. If this consideration induced them to tolerate the residence of Canaanites in all the plain country, it would act with double force when applied to the inhabitants of the strong towns situated along the coast; and hence, the opinions of those who maintain that the Phenicians were not Canaanites, receive no confirmation from the pacific intercourse which subsisted between this people and the neighbouring tribes. Did not the Jebusites retain possession of the fortress at Jerusalem till the reign of David, more than five hundred years after the invasion of Joshua?

But, in the third place, Herodotus states, in the opening of his first book, that, according to the Persians, *the Phenicians came from the coast of the Erythræan sea.* In his ninth book, the same historian assures us, that they give

the same account of their origin. The Phenicians, as they themselves report, ãnciently dwelt on the coast of the Erythræan gulf, and, passing over from thence, fixed their abode by the sea of Syria.* They appear to have chosen their first settlement near the lake of Genesareth; but, being alarmed by an earthquake, they subsequently advanced to the shores of the Mediterranean. This is the account of their migration which is furnished by Justin;† to which, it is supposed, some confirmation may be derived from the writings of Strabo, who remarks that, according to some, the Phenicians were so called because they came from the Erythræan sea; both these terms signifying *red*. There is a passage in Pliny, too, which is not unworthy of notice. This author, speaking of the island of Erythia, says, "*Erythia dicta est quoniam Tyrii aborigines eorum orti ab Erythræo mari ferebentur*:" upon which the commentator Vossius observes, "Ερυθεια *est dicta ab Erythæis: Erythæi autem Phœnices, qui hoc nomen adepti ab Erythæo sive rubro mari, unde Tyrum venerant. Nempe* Erythræi *ab* ἐρυθρος, *ruber*: Erythea *ab* ερυθος, *rubor*."‡

The etymological argument suggested by Pliny, has by some writers been pursued so far as to identify the Phenicians with the descendants of Esau or Edom, a term which likewise denotes the colour already mentioned: and thus Erythræans, Edomites, and Phenicians are, upon this hypothesis, understood to signify the same thing, and to be applied to the same people. Supported by this conclusion, some commentators have proceeded to ex-

* Herod. lib. vii. c. 89.

† Justini Hist. lib. xviii. c. 3. Tyrorum gens condita a Phœnicibus fuit, qui terræ motu vexati, relicto patrio solo, Assyrium stagnum primum, mox mari proximum littus incoluerunt, condita ibi urbe, quam a piscium ubertate, Sidona appellaverunt; nam piscem Phœnices *sidon* vocant.

‡ Origines, vol. iii. p. 11.

plain the threatening denounced against Edom by the prophet Amos, as applying to the relation of brotherhood which subsisted between that tribe and the progeny of Jacob. "Thus saith the Lord, For three transgressions of Tyrus, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they delivered up the whole captivity to Edom, and remembered not the brotherly covenant: But I will send a fire on the wall of Tyrus, which shall devour the palaces thereof. Thus saith the Lord, For three transgressions of Edom, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because he did pursue his brother with the sword, and did cast off all pity, and his anger did tear perpetually, and he kept his wrath for ever. But I will send a fire upon Teman, which shall devour the palaces of Bozrah."*

Assuming the identity of the Edomites and the Phenicians, we discover a meaning in the prophet's words which could not otherwise have been drawn from them; and which, in fact, does not apply to the national alliance that was founded upon the private friendship of Hiram and king Solomon. On various occasions the people of Tyre had co-operated with the enemies of Israel. They had assisted the Arabians and Philistines in the days of Jehoram; and joined with other invaders in plundering the cities of Judah, and in carrying the inhabitants into captivity.† Hence, it is concluded that the brotherly covenant was broken, and that, therefore, the anger of the Lord was stirred up against the descendants of Esau, the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon.

It must be admitted that the writers, who confine the denunciation of Amos to the infraction of a public treaty between the king of Tyre and a Hebrew prince, have on

* Amos i. 9—12. † 2 Chronicles xxi. 16.; Joel iii. 4, 5, 6.

their side the authority of St Jerome. This father, who was unquestionably a learned as well as an ingenious expounder of Scripture, could discover no other reason why the people of Tyre should be called brethren of the Jews, than that their respective countries had been united in the bonds of amity. We do not find, however, that it was customary for the sacred writers to regard a political compact as the basis of a brotherhood so strict and sacred, that the curse of God was due to him who should at any time forget it; or to teach that nations which had ever been at peace could not again go to war, without incurring the same tremendous anathema.*

But the arguments used by those who maintain that the Phenicians were Canaanites, are still more probable, for they rest on a striking fact mentioned by the inspired writer of the Pentateuch; namely, that Sidon was the first-born of Canaan, from whom, it is obvious, the city derived its appellation. It has, indeed, been contended that, long before the time of Joshua, the original Canaanites were expelled, and their place occupied by a colony from the shores of the Erythræan sea; but of this conquest and migration there is not, in sacred history, the slightest proof or memorial. It is a mere hypothesis, devised to account for a supposed fact, which is equally destitute of evidence and of probability. Besides, the compiler of the book of

* Quærimus, quomodo Tyrii sint fratres Judæorum. Fratres hic amicos vocat, et necessitudine copulatos, eo quod Hiram princeps Tyri cum David et Solomone habuerit amicitias. *Hieronomi Opera*, cited by Sir William Drummond. "The words of Amos," says the latter author, "consequently contain nothing from which it can possibly be inferred that the Phenicians were descended from the Edomites."—*Origines*, vol. iii. p. 51.

I observe that Grotius approves the same interpretation. ET NON SINT RECORDATI FEDERIS FRATRUM] Solomonis et Hirami; nam federati inter se fratres vocabantur.—*Annotata in Amosum.*

Lowth, on the other hand, seems to adopt both views.—See his *Commentary upon Amos.*

Joshua, and the authors of the Septuagint have, in many parts of their respective works, assumed the Canaanitish origin of the Phenician people; using the two terms as strictly synonimous, and as being both equally applicable to the dwellers at Tyre and Sidon. Again, the Philistines were not Canaanites, and therefore their lands were not included in the gift made by Jehovah to the seed of Abraham: But the lands of the Phenicians were devoted as a part of the promised inheritance; wherefore we may conclude that the latter people were the offspring of him upon whom the curse was originally pronounced.

I am not ignorant of the great weight that has been attached to the statement of Herodotus relative to the origin of the Tyrians and Sidonians; in which he assures us, that not only did the Persians assert that the Phenicians came from the coast of the Erythræan sea, but also that the Phenicians themselves maintained the same fact. Herodotus had been at Tyre; and it is difficult to suppose him to have mistaken the meaning of what had been told to him both by the Persians and by the Phenicians. Nor is the effect of his testimony to be removed, by supposing that the Canaanites, who originally took possession of Phenice, must have previously dwelt on the shores of the Arabian gulf. The sacred historian tells us that Sidon was the eldest son of Canaan; and this, as Sir William Drummond remarks, is quite sufficient to prove the fallacy of the conjecture which would place the first settlement of the Canaanites on any part of the Erythræan sea.*

But we may perhaps be able to account for the above tradition, by supposing that some of the natives of the Persian coast, who were at a very early period addicted to commerce, may in their different voyages round the

* Origines, vol. iii. p. 57.

margin of Western Asia, have touched at the Phenician ports, and ultimately obtained permission from the inhabitants to repair their ships and land their goods. Such intercourse would, in a short time, lead to greater concessions and to more intimate relations. Tempted by the wealth and luxury which mercantile enterprise brought to their doors, the rude Syrians would perhaps allow their visiters to construct a harbour, and to build storehouses; and hence would originate, among the descendants of Canaan, a colony of foreigners, who, having more intelligence and activity than the people whose lands they shared, must, in the course of a few generations, have acquired the ascendency and assumed the management of affairs. At a later period, when the Persian empire extended from the Indus to the Mediterranean, it became a point of honour with the tributary nations to establish an affinity with the ruling tribe; on which account, we should not be surprised that, in the days of Herodotus, some of the inhabitants of Palestine were disposed to trace their lineage to the shores of the southern ocean.

This opinion rests on a stronger probability than the other suggested by Sir William Drummond, which is, that the cities of Tyre and Sidon were peopled in part by the fugitives who escaped from the rout of Chedorlaomer. It is not easy to divest of ridicule any narrative which represents the "Iranian monarch, whose dominions nearly extended to the Arabian gulf and the frontiers of Egypt," to have been defeated by Abraham at the head of 318 men. But Sir William deems such a conclusion neither improbable nor ridiculous. "Dan," says he, "to which city Chedorlaomer had gone after his victory in the vale of Siddim, was one day's journey from the great plain of Sidon. Abraham attacked the Persians and their allies during the night; and although the king of Iran and his

vassal kings may have escaped to Hobah, in the neighbourhood of Damascus, with the greater number of their troops who had saved themselves from the carnage at Dan, yet many probably fled, in the midst of the confusion, in different directions, and might have taken refuge in Sidon and Tyre."*

This learned and most industrious author, who generally prefers, in matters connected with sacred history, to follow the beaten path of simple fact rather than the tortuous mazes of conjecture, has not, on the occasion now before us, exercised his usual judgment. Even were we to admit that the son of Terah, with a band of undisciplined shepherds, had beaten the monarch of Persia surrounded by his vassal kings, we should still have to encounter the difficulty of discovering on what ground the enemies of Canaan, when defeated, should seek refuge in cities belonging to the Canaanites. It is, no doubt, assumed that certain Persian merchants, and others connected with that people, had already taken up their residence among the Tyrians and Sidonians; but still, if the mass of the inhabitants and the civic authorities were not subjects of the great king, there is nothing more unlikely than that troops, vanquished and dispersed, should turn their backs on their native land, and seek safety in towns at the distance of eight or ten leagues in the opposite direction. If Tyre and Sidon were Persian cities before the time of Abraham, —which, according to the chronological scheme of the erudite Baronet, coincides with the era of Nimrod, the grandson of Ham,—we may at once relinquish the investigation into their origin, as far beyond the reach of historical testimony, and even of plausible conjecture. That adventurers

* Origines, vol. iii. p. 61.

from the Erythræan sea may have, at an early period, mixed with the Canaanitish inhabitants of the Syrian coast, will be readily admitted by every one who has studied the character of the former people; and, perhaps, it may be found that the statement of Herodotus, when narrowly examined, does not demand a greater concession.

In the last place, those who deny that the Phenicians were Canaanites, have urged, as an argument founded on the best historical evidence, that the curse pronounced against the grandson of Noah was not fulfilled upon the former people; but that, on the contrary, they were, during a long series of generations, one of the most flourishing states in the eastern world. The reply which is made to this remark by the author of the Origines must be given in his own words. "Phenicia, it is true, reigned for centuries the queen of the ocean; Sidon was the mart of the world; and Tyre was *a crowning city*. But how sad has been the downfall of all this greatness! Phenicia returned to her hire; and Tyre, after seventy years of thraldom, again sung as a harlot. *Take thy harp, go about the city, thou harlot, that hast been forgotten, make sweet melody, sing many songs, that thou mayest be remembered!* The persecuted slaves of Babylon, the Phenicians, wore lighter chains under the successive empires of Persia, Greece, and Rome; but the curse of Canaan was upon them. They were the commercial agents of subjugated nations,—the carriers of the trade of countries less humiliated than their own,—ministers to the wants of the needy,—panders to the appetites of the luxurious,—in every sense of the term, the servant of servants. Hear the words of a profane writer, who must have been an utter stranger to the prediction of Noah against Canaan, and who yet testifies that those proud and wealthy Phenicians, whose navies traversed the ocean, and whose

colonies rose into mighty states, actually became the subjects and finally the victims of their own servants and slaves.* Will it now be doubted that the curse of Canaan was fulfilled against the Phenicians—the servants, nay more, the victims of servants? And what is now the fate of the virgin daughter of Sidon? Her harp is unstrung; her songs have ceased; the noise of the waves resounds on her desolate coast; but the voice of her multitudes is heard no more. Tyre has become like the top of a rock, where the fisherman spreads his nets. The inhabitants of the once rich and flourishing Phenicia are reduced to the state of degraded slaves, that live and tremble, unhappy yet obedient, under the iron rule of the most barbarous tyrants that have ever trampled under foot the liberties of nations. The modern Syrians are the slaves of pachas, themselves the servants of the Ottoman emperor, and the instruments of the tyrannical decrees of the Turkish divan. The curse of Canaan still rests on the land which was originally peopled by his progeny."†

Without pursuing to any greater length the question which respects the lineage of the Phenician people, we shall now give a short account of their history; more particularly as it may be found to have a connection with that of the children of Israel, after their settlement in Canaan. It is no part of our plan to analyze the mystical narratives of the Greeks, who have contrived to involve in the darkness of fable some of the plainest facts of ancient story. We can put no confidence, for example, in the fictions of

* Ibi (in urbe Tyro) Persarum (Assyriorum) bellis diu varieque fatigati victores (Phœnices) quidem fuere; sed attritis viribus, a servis suis multitudine abundantibus indigna supplicia perpessi sunt; qui, conspiratione facta, omnem liberum populum cum dominis interficiunt; atque, ita potita urbe, lares dominorum occupant, rempublicam invadunt, conjuges ducunt, et quod ipsi non erant, liberos procreant.—*Justini Historearum*, lib. xviii. c. 3.

† Origines, vol. iii. p. 69, 70.

Apollodorus, when he gravely relates that Agenor and Belus were sons of Neptune by Lybia, the daughter of Epaphus, a king of Egypt; and that the latter of these young men reigned in his native country, while the former migrated into Phenicia, where he founded a kingdom, and became the father of a numerous race of princes. Europa, Cadmus, Phœnix, Thasus, and Electra, the immediate offspring of Agenor, make a prominent figure in all the adventures of the heroic age; and adorn or disfigure the earliest efforts of poetry and romance in the literature of Greece. Such details could not be read with patience; and would not, on any account, prove suitable to the more important object of our inquiries.

Phenicia, like all other ancient states, appears to have been divided at an early period into several independent kingdoms. We read not only of sovereigns who swayed the sceptre of Tyre and of Sidon, but also of such as exercised a similar authority at Berytus and at Arad; enjoying a regal power which confined itself within the walls of their respective cities; or, at most, did not extend beyond the limits of the surrounding fields from which they drew their subsistence. Of all these petty monarchies, Sidon has always been esteemed the oldest and the most powerful. It owed its foundation to the first-born of Canaan, who, at the same time, conferred upon it the honour of his name. He is said to have been succeeded by the following princes; but whether by election or on the principle of hereditary right, historians have not thought it necessary to determine.

Tetramnestus.
Tennes.
Strato.
Ballonymus, Abdalominus, Abdolominus, or Alynomus.

Of the history of Sidon, till a period comparatively recent, we meet with so few notices in Scripture that we cannot boast of having ascertained any thing more concerning it than that it existed, in considerable power and splendour, in the earliest times. In the tenth chapter of Genesis, for example, it holds a place among those primeval establishments which marked the first boundaries of society upon its renovation after the Flood: and that it continued to retain its consequence in the days of the Judges is placed beyond doubt by the allusion which the sacred writer makes to it, when describing the expedition of the children of Dan against Laish.* But although we are certain that Sidon raised its head among the first of the nations, history is no longer in possession of those ancient records which her people took so much pleasure in preserving.† Her royal dynasties exhibit no other memorial than a bare list of names. Their successions cannot be determined, and the length of their reigns has become a subject of mere conjecture.

After the founder, whose memory is associated with every ancient recollection of this queen of the seas, the next sovereign whose actions are recorded is Tetramnestus, who is said to have assisted Xerxes in his celebrated invasion of Greece. Herodotus informs us that this Sidonian prince supplied three hundred galleys; and that, for his skill and power as a naval commander, he was esteemed very highly at the Persian court.‡

In the reign of the following king, whose name was Tennes, the people of Sidon, and other Phenicians, not

* Genesis x. 19. "The border of the Canaanite was from Sidon as thou comest to Gerar;" and Judges xviii. 28.

† Joseph. contra Apion. lib. i.

‡ Herod. Polym. c. 98.

being able to bear the haughty and tyrannical conduct of the Persian governors, entered into a confederacy with Nectanebus, the monarch of Egypt, and rose up in arms with the view of throwing off the yoke. The Egyptian ruler, having been threatened with the overwhelming power of Persia, gladly availed himself of this opportunity to strengthen his country with an alliance, from which he had much to hope, and his enemies much to dread. In order, therefore, to encourage the Phenicians in their rebellion, he sent to their aid four thousand Greek mercenaries, under the command of Mentor, a native of Rhodes. Nor was Tennes himself backward to second the efforts of his Egyptian ally. He fitted out a powerful fleet, and raised a considerable army, with which, by sea and land, he began the war against the Persian satraps; and so great were the vigour and rapidity of his movements at the head of the combined forces, that, in a short time, he expelled the conquerors not only from Syria, but also from the remoter province of Cilicia.

But these successes were not of long duration. The Persian king, enraged at the defeat of his lieutenants, as well as at some indignities which were inflicted upon the representatives of his person and majesty, vowed the most signal revenge upon all the disaffected Phenicians, and especially the inhabitants of Sidon. In pursuance of this object, he assembled at Babylon a mighty army, consisting of three hundred thousand foot and thirty thousand horsemen; and, assuming the command, he issued orders for their immediate march into the provinces of Syria and Asia Minor. The terror of the Sidonians was increased by the fickleness of Mentor; who, alarmed at the approach of so formidable a host, appears to have recommended unconditional submission, and a speedy renewal of allegiance. It is even said that he despatched to the

great king a trusty agent, who was empowered to enter into terms with him, not only for delivering up Sidon, but also for dissolving the general confederacy, and even for reducing Egypt itself under the Persian dominion. Darius Ochus willingly acceded to the proposal of the faithless Greek, and, to secure him in his interest, lavished on him the most flattering promises and marks of his regard.

The baseness of the mercenary is far less improbable than are some of the circumstances with which it was attended. History relates, that even Tennes himself entered into the plot against his own people, and agreed to accept part of the bribe for which they were sold again to their cruel taskmasters. But of this charge the evidence is so improbable and contradictory, that we must not, on so slender a ground, pronounce the king a traitor to the good cause which he had recently promoted by his activity and valour. The Sidonians, meanwhile, confiding in the strength of their walls, prepared themselves for a long and vigorous siege: and, fixed in the resolution neither to surrender their town nor abandon its defence, they set fire to the ships in their harbour, that the hope of escape by sea might not paralyze their exertions on land.

But the wavering faith of the Greeks could not be secured by any such precautions. Mentor opened the gates to the Persian army: upon which, the inhabitants, true to their determination not to solicit the mercy of the infuriated tyrant, shut themselves up in their houses with their wives and children, where they perished amidst voluntary flames, to the number of forty thousand. Tennes likewise fell a victim either to his own perfidy or to the rage of the conqueror, and was immediately put to death; while Ochus, disappointed in his expectations of booty, is reported to have sold the ashes of the desolated town at

a price equal to the gold and silver which were supposed to be concealed under its ruins.

After the defence which I have insinuated for Tennes on the mere ground of probability, determined indeed by a reference to the general principles on which mankind are usually found to act, it is due to the truth of history that I should mention the very unfavourable judgment which has been passed upon him by Diodorus Siculus. This ancient writer maintains that the treachery which undermined the walls of Sidon, originated with the king and not with the Rhodian commander;* and that the latter was induced to betray the trust committed to him on the part of the sovereign of Egypt, from considerations addressed as well to his ambition as to his fears and avarice, by the very person under whose direction he was appointed to serve.

Tennes was succeeded in his office by Strato; to whom the few survivors of Sidon engaged their faith and duty. This ruler was on the throne when Alexander the Great entered upon his famous expedition against the Persian empire. Influenced by hatred and revenge, the subjects of Strato urged him to join his arms to those of the Macedonian prince, and to avenge the sufferings of their country upon Darius and his proud satraps. But the king neither approved the zeal of his people, nor listened to their counsel. Dreading the power of a vindictive mo-

* Ὁ δὲ τῆς Σιδωνος δυναστης Τεννης συνθαμινος το μεγεθος της των Περσων δυναμεως, και νομισας τους ἀφιστηκοτας ουκ ἀξιομαχους ειναι, την σωτηριαν ἰδια ποριζειν ἐκρινε. διοπερ των ἑαυτου θεραποντων τον πιστοτατον λαθρα των Σιδωνιων ἐξεπεμψε προς τον Δρταξερξην, ἐπαγγελλομενος αὐτῳ την μεν Σιδωνα παραδωσειν, την δε Αιγυπτον θυακπολιμησειν, μεγαλα δε αὐτῳ συνεργησειν, ἐμπειρον ὀντα των κατα την Αιγυπτον τοπων, και τας κατα τον Νειλον ἀποβασεις ἀκριβως ἰδοτα. Ὁ δε Τεννης κοινωσαμενος την προδοσιαν Μεντορι τῳ στρατηγῳ των ἐξ Αιγυπτου μισθοφορων, τουτον μεν ἀπελιπε τηρουντα μερος της πολεως, και συνεργουντα τοις περι την προδοσιαν ἐγχειρουμενοις.—*Diod. Sicul.* lib. xvi. c. 43, 45.

narch, by whose permission he held his crown, he chose rather to temporize and watch the progress of events; for which reason, when the Sidonians afterwards proffered their submission to the son of Philip, he deprived the feeble Strato of the remaining shadow of regal authority which circumstances alone had enabled him to retain.

Alexander left the disposal of the vacant throne to his favourite general Hephæstion; who, studying at once the welfare of Sidon and of his master, made an offer of it to a private citizen in whose house he happened to lodge. This splendid gift was declined, on the ground that he to whom it was presented was not of royal blood, and who, besides, thought himself unequal to the toil and care with which such a donation must have been accompanied. The Sidonian, however, recommended that it should be bestowed upon one of his townsmen, who, to the advantage of being connected with the race of their native kings, joined the highest reputation for talent and integrity. Ballonymus, the person thus described, had, amidst the troubles of the times, retired into a very private station; where he contributed to his subsistence by the labour of his own hands. The messenger, who was sent to announce his elevation to the throne, found him busy in his garden or employed in drawing water. But his humble pursuits had not diminished either his ability or his inclination to serve his country. He accepted without delay the dignity which had been conferred upon him; and proceeding with the envoy towards the city, he was received by the Macedonian commander with all the marks of distinction due to his character and office. The shouts of the people confirmed the election, and, at the same time, expressed their delight at the accession of a king who had already, by the fidelity with which he discharged the duties of an inferior station, set so good an example to all classes of his

subjects. But of his public life history has not preserved any particulars. He is understood to have adhered steadily to the Macedonian interest as long as he held the crown, and, moreover, to have been the last sovereign who exercised regal power at Sidon as a separate and independent state.*

But the same story is narrated by Diodorus Siculus in reference to the particular king who received the authority of Alexander to rule at Tyre, after the famous siege and demolition of that city. Της μεν Τυριων πολεως κατεστησε βασιλεα τον ονομαζομενον Βαλλωνυμον. Ὁ Αλεξανδρος ἐδωκεν εξουσιαν Ηφαιστιωνι καταστησαι βασιλεα της Τυρου των ἰδιοξενων. Justin, on the contrary, assures his readers that Ballonymus was named to the throne of Sidon. He calls him, indeed, Abdalonimus, and Plutarch calls him Alynomus; but there is no doubt that the same person is meant by all the three historians. *Insignis præter ceteros fuit Abdalonimus, rex ab Alexandro Sidoniæ constitutus.*† But in researches of this kind, it is vain to look for certainty,—an arrangement and comparison of authorities being all that can be expected from the most industrious writer.

We proceed now to the history of Tyre itself; which, though less ancient than the other, occupies a more conspicuous place in the annals of Syria. It is indeed very probable that "this daughter of Sidon" succeeded to the wealth and power of the parent state, at an earlier period than is usually imagined; and that, even before the days of Alexander, the king of Tyre exercised dominion over the neighbouring city also, and had, in fact, united their strength and interests. Upon no other supposition shall we be able to explain the indiscriminate use of the two

* Diodori Siculi Hist. Biblioth. lib. xvii. c. 47.; and Ancient Universal History, vol. ii. p. 34.

† Justini, lib. xi. c. 10.

terms as applied to the same kingdom; or to understand why the government which Diodorus assigns to Tyre should by Justin be ascribed to Sidon. The sovereigns or judges of the latter state have usually been classed as follows:—

Abibalus or Abeimalus.
Hieram, Hierom, Hieromen, Irom, Chiram, or Suron.
Baleastartus or Bazor.
Abdastartus.

Astartus.
Astarimus or Atharymus.
Phelles or Helles.
Ethbalus, Ithobalus, or Juthobalus.
Badezor or Bazor.

Mettinus.
Pygmalion.

Elulæus.

Ithobalus.
Baal.
Echnibalus.
Chelbes.
Abbar, the high priest.
Myttonus and Gerastus.
Balator.
Merbalus.
Trom.
Massen.
Strato.

Azelmic.

Marion.*

The authors from whose works the above list is formed are Menander the Ephesian, and Theophilus of Antioch; but their statements are so excessively discordant, particularly in the number of years assigned to the several reigns, that the boldest antiquary has never yet attempted to reconcile their differences, nor even to construct out of their materials a system of dates worthy of a place in regular chronology.

In particular, we are not supplied with any facts for determining the antiquity of Tyre. In the days of Joshua, it possessed the reputation of a "strong city;" and Herodotus relates that in his time the Tyrians boasted their temple and town had already stood 2300 years.† According to this computation Tyre must have been founded about 2746 before the Christian era,—a date which stretches backwards to the very beginning of the fifth century after the Flood.

Josephus, on the other hand, asserts that its origin is not more ancient than 240 years before the foundation of Solomon's temple, or B. C. 1267; but it is obvious that this recent date is quite inconsistent with the narrative in the book of Joshua, which recognizes at once the existence and the power of the "daughter of Sidon." Dr Hales conjectures that Josephus must have written 1240, and that the numerical letter denoting a thousand had fallen from the text, or had been omitted by the carelessness of a transcriber. This amendment would carry back

* Ancient Universal History, vol. ii. p. 24, 25. † Joshua xix. 29.

the beginning of Tyre to B.C. 2267, that is, about 160 years before the foundation of Salem,—a conclusion which is supported by a considerable appearance of probability.

That Tyre possessed a very high antiquity is rendered manifest by several allusions to it in the books of the prophets, as a place which was very old even in their time. Isaiah describes it not only as a *mart of the nations*; but, in anticipating its downfall, he exclaims, "is this your joyous city, *whose antiquity is of ancient days?*"*

Tyre is known to the historian and geographer under two different aspects, the old and the new, or the continental and the insular. Insular Tyre is supposed to be the more ancient, being that which is noticed by Joshua: but the continental city, as it enjoyed a more convenient situation, rose first into importance, and assumed the name of *Palætyrus*, or "Old Tyre." The former was confined to a small rocky island, eight hundred paces long and four hundred broad, and could never have exceeded two miles in circumference; whereas the latter, which stood about a mile from the sea, must have been a city of vast extent, since, many centuries after its demolition by Nebuchadnezzar, the ruins, as we learn from Pliny and Strabo, were scattered over a surface nineteen miles in circumference. But it must be acknowledged, that the industry of travellers in more modern times has not confirmed the details of these ancient geographers. According to Mr Maundrell, "the city, standing in the sea upon a peninsula, promises at a distance something very magnificent; but when you come to it, you find no similitude of that glory for which it was so renowned in ancient times, and which the prophet Ezekiel describes in chapters

* Isaiah xxiii. 3. 7.

twenty-sixth, twenty-seventh, and twenty-eighth. On the north side it has an old *Turkish* ungarrisoned castle; besides which you see nothing here but a mere Babel of broken walls, pillars, vaults, &c. there being not so much as one entire house left. Its present inhabitants are only a few poor wretches harbouring themselves in the vaults, and subsisting chiefly by fishing; who seem to be preserved in this place by Divine Providence as a visible argument how God has fulfilled his word concerning Tyre, that it should be as the top of a rock, a place for fishers to dry their nets upon."*

But, leaving these considerations, we resume the historical narrative, of which the materials are not less meagre than those which respect the origin and extent of the city. We find, indeed, from Josephus, that not only were ample records preserved at Tyre, of the succession of their kings, and of such other occurrences as were likely to interest an ingenuous mind, but that even a regular history was written by more than one author of unquestionable credit. He mentions Dius, a Phenician by birth, who compiled from the public archives the annals of the Tyrian people; and also Menander, a native of Ephesus, who drew up from a similar source a biographical work, illustrative of the characters and actions of individual princes. From the two writers now named, both Josephus and Theophilus of Antioch have extracted almost every thing that is valuable in their notices respecting ancient Tyre; but unfortunately neither of them goes back to a date much higher than the reign of David, king of Israel.†

The first Syrian monarch whose name is on record is

* Maundrell's Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem. Hales, vol. i. p. 442.
† Joseph. contra Apion. lib. i.

Abibalus, who appears to have been contemporary with Saul, as well as with his successor the son of Jesse. It should seem that, in the days of this prince, Tyre was occasionally at war with the Hebrew tribes; for we find the inhabitants of that city mentioned in conjunction with the Philistines, Gebal, Ammon, and Amalek, as confederated against the people of Jehovah.* But with regard to his policy in general, the actions which he performed, and the length of his reign, we are left almost entirely in the dark.

Abibalus was succeeded by his son Hiram, whom Theophilus of Antioch sometimes calls Hieromus, and at other times Hieromenus. By Tatian and Zonaras he is denominated Chiramus. "This king," says Dius, as quoted by Josephus, "raised banks at the eastern parts of the city and enlarged it; he also, by forming a causeway between an island and the town, joined the temple of Jupiter Olympius, which formerly stood insulated at some distance from the walls. He was, moreover, accustomed to go to mount Libanus for the purpose of cutting down timber, to decorate the temples and complete his various buildings. They say farther, that Solomon, when he was king of Jerusalem, sent problems to Hierom to be solved, and desired he would send others back for him to solve; and that he who could not solve the problems proposed to him, should pay money to him that sent them. Hierom agreed to the proposals, but not being able to solve some of the problems which were sent to him, was compelled to pay large sums in name of penalty. They also relate, that one Abdemon, a man of Tyre, did solve the problems which Solomon proposed, and even transmitted several

* Psalm lxxxiii. 7.

which the other could not understand; for which reason the king of Jerusalem was obliged to repay to the king of Tyre a great deal of the money which the latter had forfeited."*

This extract from Dius will appear to possess considerable importance, if regarded as a specimen of that kind of historical composition in which the affairs of Tyre were recommended to the attention of posterity. Josephus cites a corresponding passage from Menander the Ephesian, which, in substance, at least, will be found to agree with the details of his brother annalist. "Upon the death of Abibalus, his son Hierom took the kingdom; he lived fifty-three years, and reigned thirty-four. He raised a bank on what is called the Broad Place, and dedicated that golden pillar which is in Jupiter's temple: he also went and cut down wood from the mountain called Libanus, and got planks of cedar for the roof of the temples. He also pulled down the old fanes, and built new ones: besides this, he consecrated the temples of Hercules and of Astarte. He first built Hercules's temple in the month Peritus, and that of Astarte, when he made his expedition against the Tityans, who would not pay him tribute; and when he had subdued them to himself, he returned home. Under this king there was a younger son of Abdemon, who mastered the problems which Solomon the king of Jerusalem had recommended to be solved."†

The historical muse of the Ephesian seems not to have aspired to higher themes than that of Dius. Hence it is very probable that the loss of their respective works has not entailed upon the world any material privation, in regard, at

* Joseph. contra Apion. lib. i. Whiston's Translation.
† Joseph. ubi supra.

least, to the knowledge of those great events which determined the fortunes of Western Asia. It is, however, not a little interesting to observe, that the narrative of Menander coincides, so far as it goes, with the record of the inspired volume. From both it is manifest that Hiram was a lover of the arts, devoted to peaceful habits, and pleased with the pursuits of science. We learn, in the second book of Samuel, that he sent messengers to David, soon after the establishment of his government, to congratulate him, it is thought, on his success against the Jebusites, from whom he had just taken the strong-hold of Zion.* He likewise presented him with cedar and other valuable timber, and even sent workmen to Jerusalem to give assistance in the erection of a palace suitable to the power and reputation of so warlike a prince. In all respects, indeed, he approved himself to be what he is called in Scripture, "ever a lover of David."†

Nor did his respect for this king of Israel cease with the life of the latter potentate. On the contrary, no sooner had Solomon ascended the throne, than he was greeted by the ambassadors of Hiram, with the usual mixture of condolence and congratulation which is addressed to the ears of princes who succeed their fathers. The son of David, embracing this opportunity, is said to have written to the king of Tyre the following epistle:—

"Be it known to thee, O king, that my father David had it a long time in his mind to erect a temple to the Lord; but being perpetually at war, and under the necessity of subduing his enemies and placing them under tribute, before he could devote his attention to this great and holy work, he hath left it to me, in time of peace,

* 2 Samuel v. 11; 1 Chronicles xiv. 1. † 1 Kings v. 1.

both to begin and to finish it, according to the authority and direction of Almighty God. Blessed be his great name for the present tranquillity of my dominions! And by his gracious assistance I shall now improve this peace and leisure, so as to dedicate the fruits of them to his honour and worship. Wherefore I make it my request that you will allow some of your people to accompany mine to mount Libanus, to assist them in cutting down materials for this building; for the Sidonians understand such employments much better than we do. As for the wages or reward due to the workmen, whatever you think reasonable, shall be punctually paid to them."

In reply to this letter Hiram wrote as follows:—

"Nothing could have been more gratifying to me than to learn that the government of your excellent father has, by God's providence, been committed to the hands of so wise and virtuous a successor. Praise be to his holy name for this token of his goodness! As to the matters contained in your epistle, your requests shall be attended to with all care and affection; for I will give orders to cut down and convey to you such quantities of the best cedar and cypress-wood as your purposes may require. My people shall carry it to the sea-side for you, and leave it at whatever port you please; whence your mechanics may transport what they want to Jerusalem at their own convenience. In return for this accommodation a small supply of corn will be gratefully received; as our country does not produce a sufficient quantity of that article to meet our necessities."*

* Joseph. Antiq. Judaic. lib. viii. c. 13. Josephus makes Hiram describe his country as an *island*; but there is no reason to believe that the inhabitants of Old Tyre were already separated from the continent of Asia, and compelled to trust for supplies to the narrow piece of ground on which

I have transcribed these letters, not because they are of themselves particularly valuable either in point of matter or of composition; but because they illustrate the corresponding parts of sacred history, and prove, at the same time, that the occurrences with which they are occupied, afforded interest to others besides the subjects of Solomon. Josephus assures us that copies of them were extant in his day; "preserved," says he, "not only in our books, but among the Tyrians also; insomuch, that if any one would know the certainty about them, he may desire of the keeper of the public records of Tyre to show them to him, and he will find what is there set down to agree with what I have said."*

Solomon, as might have been expected, was highly pleased with Hiram's generosity and friendship; and, that he might not be outdone by him in munificence, he resolved to transmit to Tyre an annual present of twenty thousand measures of wheat, and as many measures of pure oil. Hence began a rivalry between these sovereigns in acts of benevolence. Besides the cedar and cypress, Hiram sent to Solomon an artizan who was famous for the excellence of his workmanship in gold, silver, and other metals, to assist in the decoration of the temple. He, moreover, advanced one hundred and twenty talents of gold, to enable him to finish that magnificent structure. In compensation, the king of Israel bestowed upon the other,

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the new city was afterwards erected. It will be sufficient that we call to mind that the subjects of Hiram were greatly addicted to commerce, and trusted generally for their supply of grain to the agricultural tribes in their neighbourhood, who took in exchange the foreign luxuries imported at Tyre and Sidon.

* I have here adopted the antique language of Whiston, which, with all its faults—and many faults it unquestionably has—seems to harmonize with the primitive style and notions which it is, in this place, employed to express.

twenty cities in the land of Galilee; which being at no great distance from Tyre, appeared a suitable as well as an important addition to the dominions of his royal friend. But Hiram thought proper to decline the gift; for when "he came out of Tyre to see the cities which Solomon had given him, and they pleased him not, he said, What cities are these that thou hast given me, my brother?"* It is subjoined by the sacred historian, that he called them the "land of Cabul," the region of dissatisfaction, unto this day,—a proceeding on the part of the Tyrian monarch which is not at all in harmony with his general character, nor with the uniform disinterestedness of his conduct towards the people of Israel.

Not satisfied with promoting his wealth and splendour at home, Hiram likewise contributed to the greatness of Solomon in foreign countries. He assisted him in the equipment of fleets; supplied him with skilful pilots and experienced mariners; and even indicated channels of commerce in which they might all be profitably employed. But his last gift, which is mentioned by Tatian from Theodotus, Hysicrates, and Mochus, three Phenician historians, brought upon the land of Judea an evil so great and lasting as not to be compensated by all the magnificence of architecture, nor by all the riches of successful trade. He gave to Solomon one of his daughters in marriage; who, by her wiles, seduced the wise monarch of Israel from the worship of Jehovah, and reconciled his judgment and his conscience to the abominations of Astaroth, the goddess of the Sidonians.†

Hiram, at his death, left the throne to his son Baleazar; who, according to Josephus, reigned seven years;

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* 1 Kings ix. 12, 13.

† Tatian. Orat. contra Græcos.

and seventeen, according to Theophilus. The latter author calls him also Bazor and Baleastartus. But it is only in the appellation that we find any variety; for as to his conduct, in peace or in war, history is perfectly silent. Neither Dius nor Menander has preserved any record of his exploits: his successes and his misfortunes remain equally unknown: we learn no more of him than that he exercised the government of Tyre a certain number of years, and then bequeathed all its cares and honours to his first-born, whose name was Abdastartus.

This prince, after having reigned nine years, was murdered by the sons of his nurse; one of whom usurped the vacant sceptre, and held it not less than twelve years. He was succeeded by the brother of the murdered king, who had found means to recover the right of his family. Astartus, in due time, gave place to Astarimus, who was assassinated by Phelles, brother of the last two princes. This second murderer had enjoyed the object of his ambition only a few months, when he, in his turn, was cut off by Ithobalus, a son of Astarimus, and chief priest of the goddess Astarte.

Ithobal is mentioned in Scripture under the name of Eth-Baal, and is, moreover, styled king of the Sidonians.* Josephus relates, that he exercised the regal authority over the latter people, in virtue of his appointment as ruler of Tyre; whence it is manifest that, at the period in question, the more ancient state had become subject to that to which itself gave a beginning. It is impossible to ascertain the date when this union or subjection began; but it is probable that even in the time of Hiram the Tyrians were masters of Sidon; for, as the attentive reader must have already observed, Solomon applied to the

* 1 Kings xvi. 31.

latter prince for Sidonian workmen, whose fame was already spread over Palestine and Syria.

Jezebel, the celebrated queen of Ahab, was daughter to this royal priest of Astarte, now on the throne of Tyre and Sidon; and it is well known that she carried with her into the land of Israel an attachment to the worship of her native gods, which yielded neither to the dictates of policy, nor to the most sanguinary and protracted opposition. It is worthy of remark, too, as connected with this subject, that, according to Menander, "there occurred in the reign of Eth-Baal, king of Tyre, an extremely severe drought, which lasted from the month Hyperberetæus till the same month in the following year. After prayers were put up for averting the judgment with which the land was threatened, there ensued mighty claps of thunder," and, we may presume, a copious rain. As Eth-Baal was contemporary with Ahab, the reader cannot fail to identify the drought now mentioned with that which gave celebrity to the ministerial functions of the prophet Elijah.*

The administrations of Baleazar and Mettinus, who follow next in order, were not distinguished by any remarkable event. The name of the latter, indeed, is surrounded with a species of borrowed lustre, as he happened to be the father of Pygmalion and of the renowned Elisa or Dido, the heroine of the Æneid. There were another brother and sister, named Barca and Anna. Pygmalion, being the eldest, mounted the throne of Tyre, though, if we may trust to the accuracy of Josephus, he had not yet attained to more than sixteen years of age. Youth, however, did not prevent from springing up in his breast one of the most despicable passions which belong to ad-

* Menand. Ephes. apud Josephi Antiq. Jud. lib. viii. cap. 7.

vanced life, and which above all others obscures the lustre of royalty. He became notorious for avarice, and for that blind and cruel selfishness to which this propensity almost infallibly leads. These qualities of his character, too, gave birth to an event, which, though considerably altered by poetical imagination, is yet so closely connected with some of the most prominent parts of ancient history, that the gravest writers have deemed it not unworthy of a place in their pages. I allude to the flight of Elisa and the foundation of Carthage; the occasion of which is described by the learned abbreviator of Trogus Pompeius, nearly as follows:—

'Acerbas, or, as he is more commonly called, Sichæus, the uncle and husband of Dido, was the high priest of Hercules; and, being possessed of great wealth, was marked out by Pygmalion as one of the victims of his covetousness. The king, unable to effect his object as long as his rich relative was permitted to live, invited him one day to join the royal party in the amusement of hunting. Sichæus, not apprehensive of any danger, complied with the desire of his nephew, and went out with him into the fields; but while the attendants were eagerly engaged in pursuit of a wild boar, the avaricious prince thrust him through with a spear, and immediately throwing him over a precipice, declared that his death had been occasioned by an accidental fall.* Virgil, as every one knows, adds atrocity to this event, by relating that the hand of Pygmalion was raised against his uncle, at the very altar to which his services were devoted.† Justin confines himself to the simple fact of the murder: Pygma-

* Justin. Hist. lib. xviii. c. 4. † Æneid i. v. 348.

lion, oblitus juris humani, avunculum suum eundemque generum, sine respectu pietatis occidit.*

But the inhuman monarch reaped no advantage from his treacherous cruelty. His sister, enraged at the death of her husband, which she had no difficulty in tracing to the real motive, resolved to place herself and her riches beyond the reach of such insatiable avarice. Expressing a desire to pass some time with another brother whose name was Barca, and who lived at Chartaca, a small town between Tyre and Sidon, she solicited from Pygmalion such assistance, in men and ships, as might enable her to remove thither in a manner suitable to her rank. The king readily acceded to her proposal, thinking that a fair opportunity had now presented itself for plundering the house of Sichæus, as well as for discovering those hidden treasures which the unfortunate priest was said to have accumulated.† Elisa had confided her secret to Barca, and also to several persons of influence at the court of Tyre; who determined not only to aid her in accomplishing the object of her expedition, but even to accompany her, and to share the fortunes which might befall the adventurous refugees whom fear and sympathy had collected around her person.

Having privately embarked the great store of gold and precious things which Sichæus had so carefully concealed, she put to sea; and before Pygmalion could be apprized of her real intentions, she was not only out of sight, but even beyond the reach of pursuit. In the first moments of rage and disappointment he is said to have ordered a

* Justini Historiar. lib. xviii. cap. 4.

† Justin rather quaintly narrates: "Huic magnæ, sed dissimulatæ opes erant: aurumque metu regis non tectis, sed terræ crediderat: quam rem, etsi homines ignorabant, fama tamen loquebatur.

fleet to be prepared, that he might pursue his sister, and recover the valuable effects with which her ships were loaded; but the tears of his mother and the voice of an oracle induced him to alter his resolution.

Dido first touched at the island of Cyprus; where having received supplies for a longer voyage, and wives for such of her attendants as wished to engage in the ties of domestic life, she next directed her course to the shores of Africa; on which she soon afterwards laid the foundations of Carthage, the renowned rival of ancient Rome.* Her brother Barca, at the same time, gave an origin to the illustrious family of the Barcæ in Africa; from which, at a later period, sprang several distinguished warriors, and among others the celebrated but unfortunate Hannibal.

Of Pygmalion we learn nothing more than that he built in Cyprus a city, which never rose to any importance; and that, influenced perhaps by superstitious feelings towards a god whose priest he had murdered, he sent to the temple of Hercules, in the island of Gades, the figure of an olive tree in massive gold, of the most exquisite and curious workmanship; the berries, which consisted of emeralds, presenting a strong resemblance to the natural fruit. We know not whether he left any children, or what was their destiny in the world; for the next king of Tyre who is mentioned in history appears not to have been a direct descendant of the brother of Elisa.†

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* Itaque consentientibus omnibus Carthago conditur, statuto annuo vectigali pro solo urbis. In primis fundamentis caput bibulinum inventum est: quod auspicium quidem fructuosæ terræ, sed laboriosæ, perpetuoque servæ urbis fuit: propter quod in alium locum urbs translata. Ibi quoque equi caput repertum, bellicosum potentemque populum futurum significans, urbi auspicatam sedem dedit.—*Justini Hist.* lib. xviii. c. 5.

† Vide Philostrat. in vita Apollon. lib. v. c. 1. Anc. Un. Hist. vol. ii. p. 40

The name of the prince now alluded to, was Elulæus, who reigned in the days of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria. Observing that the Philistines were greatly weakened by the repeated victories gained over them by Hezekiah, king of Judah, th ruler of Tyre seized this opportunity, in order to reduce Gath, which had some time before revolted from his crown. The citizens, dreading the punishment due to their defection, applied for relief to Shalmaneser; who appears to have listened to their requests so far as to march into Phenicia at the head of a powerful army. But of the events which ensued, in consequence of this invasion, no record has been preserved. It is probable, however, that the Assyrian king extended his conquests in Syria; for it is mentioned that, with the exception of Tyre alone, all the cities along the coast acknowledged him for their master. Menander, in his Tyrian Chronicle, as quoted by Josephus, relates, that "Elulæus, upon the revolt of the Gitteans, proceeded against them, and reduced them to submission. The king of Assyria, sending against him a strong body of forces, overran Phenicia; but, having in a short time made peace with all parties, he withdrew his army and returned home."* It should seem, notwithstanding, that Tyre had asserted its claim upon the allegiance of the neighbouring cities; for the Ephesian annalist proceeds to inform us, that "Sidon, and Ace, and Palætyrus revolted, besides some other towns which delivered themselves up to the king of

* I have followed in the text the amendment of Schotanus, who, instead of the common reading, ἐπὶ τουτους, suggests, ἐπὶ τουτον. The text as it now stands is directly opposed to the obvious meaning of the author, who certainly intended to relate that Shalmaneser, when applied to by the people of Gath, sent an army against Elulæus, and not against the Gittites, or Gitteans, as he calls them. The words are ἐπὶ τουτους πεμψας ὁ των Ασσυριων βασιλευς, ἐστρατευθη Φοινικην πολεμῶν ἁπασαν—*Josephi Antiq. Jud.* lib. ix. cap. 14.

Assyria. Accordingly, when the Tyrians would not submit to him, the king returned and fell on them again, while the Phenicians furnished him with threescore ships and eight hundred men to row them. The Tyrians with twelve ships attacked and dispersed the enemy, and took five hundred prisoners,—an exploit which greatly raised their reputation as naval warriors. But the king of Assyria returned, and placed guards at their river and aqueducts, to prevent the citizens from drawing water. This continued five years, and still the Tyrians bore the siege, satisfying themselves with the water which they procured from wells dug within the town. And this is what is written in the Tyrian archives concerning Shalmanezer, the king of Assyria."*

The death of this Assyrian monarch put an end to the miseries of Tyre, or rather procured for her a respite from her privations. Ithobalus the second was already in the seat of El læus, when Nebuchadnezzar, irritated at the haughty opposition of the Tyrians, and offended at their pretensions as the first naval power of the age, determined to level their city with the ground, and to blot out their name from among the nations of Syria. He accordingly renewed the siege of that celebrated fortress, and employed against it all the skill and bravery of his soldiers, during the long space of thirteen years. In this memorable undertaking the words of Ezekiel were fully realized. "Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I will bring upon Tyrus Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, a king of kings, from the north, with horses, and with chariots, and with horsemen, and companies, and much people. He shall slay with the sword thy daughters in

* Menander apud Joseph. Antiq. lib. ix. 14.

the field; and he shall make a fort against thee, and cast a mount against thee, and lift up the buckler against thee. And he shall set engines of war against thy walls, and with his axes he shall break down thy towers."*

Perceiving that their city must ultimately fall, the Tyrians, who all along had the superiority at sea, are understood to have employed themselves, during the latter years of the siege, in building a new town upon an island about half a mile from the shore; to which, before Nebuchadnezzar could force an entrance within their ancient walls, they had removed their families and the greater part of their property. Finding himself thus disappointed, the king of Babylon vented his rage upon the buildings, as well as upon the few inhabitants who had not found the means of escaping; concluding his work of anger by razing the houses and fortifications to the ground.

From the ironical and bitter reproaches which the prophet Ezekiel directs against Ithobalus, we must conclude that he was an arrogant and very assuming personage. "Because thine heart is lifted up, and thou hast said, I am a god, I sit in the seat of God, in the midst of the seas; yet thou art a man, and not God, though thou set thine heart as the heart of God: Behold, thou art wiser than Daniel; there is no secret that they can hide from thee: With thy wisdom and with thine understanding thou hast gotten thee riches, and hast gotten gold and silver into thy treasures: By thy great wisdom, and by thy traffick, hast thou increased thy riches, and thine heart is lifted up because of thy riches: Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Because thou hast set thine heart as the heart of God; behold, therefore I will bring strangers

* Ezekiel xxvi. 7, 8, 9.

upon thee, the terrible of the nations; and they shall draw their swords against the beauty of thy wisdom, and they shall defile thy brightness. They shall bring thee down to the pit, and thou shalt die the deaths of them that are slain in the midst of the seas."*

There is no room for doubt that the king of Babylon, upon finding the city of Tyre empty and deserted, destroyed it utterly; and hence the words of Scripture, that "Nebuchadnezzar caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus; yet he had no wages, nor his army, for Tyrus." But it is equally certain that the Tyrian state did not, at that epoch, cease to exist; for the Phenician historians mention the name of the sovereign who succeeded Ithobalus on the throne of Tyre. Hence it is manifest that the inhabitants must have effected a transference of their persons and property to a new residence; where they renewed their power, and continued, for a time at least, their ancient form of government.

About this period a deep obscurity begins to surround the history of Tyre. It is supposed that, although Nebuchadnezzar failed in his attempt to compel the submission of her people, he nevertheless acquired by other means such an influence over her affairs as to be invested with the nomination of her rulers. Baal, accordingly, the first king under the new system of things, is imagined to have been only the deputy of the Assyrian crown, or, at least, to have administered the government under the sanction and countenance of that paramount authority. The opinions of those who adopt this view are rendered somewhat plausible, by the consideration that many years did not elapse before the supreme power at Tyre underwent a very material change. Upon the demise of Baal,

* Ezekiel xxviii. 2—8.

the affairs of the city were managed by a class of magistrates corresponding in a great measure to the Hebrew Judges, or to the Carthaginian Suffetes. After an interregnum of seven or eight years, the regal government was again restored in the person of Balator; who, after reigning one year, was succeeded by Merbal, a native of Babylon. The last king of the Assyrian race, whose name was Irom or Hirom, and who is said to have been brother to his predecessor, was in possession of the sceptre at the time when Cyrus became master of the Persian empire, and changed the seat of power in all the countries westward of the Indus.

The above statement is extracted from the Phenician archives as cited by Josephus in his first book against Apion. "In them," says he, "we see this enumeration of the times of their several kings. Nabuchadonosor besieged Tyre for thirteen years, in the days of Ithobalus their king: after him reigned Baal ten years; after him were Judges appointed who judged the people: Ecnibalus, the son of Baslacus, two months; Chalbes, the son of Abdeus, ten months; Abbar, the high priest, three months; Mitgonus and Gerastratus, the sons of Abdelemus, were judges six years. After them Balatorus reigned one year: after his death they brought Merbalus from Babylon, who reigned four years; and after his death, they sent for his brother Hirom, who reigned twenty years. Under his reign Cyrus became king of Persia. So," concludes the Jewish historian, "the records of the Chaldeans and Tyrians agree with our writings: and the testimonies here produced are an indisputable and undeniable attestation to the antiquity of our nation."*

* Josephi, contra Apion. lib. i. c. 21.

Under the Persian sway the people of Tyre enjoyed a great degree of freedom, and even the privilege of naming their own sovereign, on condition that they should pay an annual tribute and perform certain military services. In this state they continued, under several successive monarchs, until the time of Alexander the Great. Among these we find one, whose accession to the throne was marked by very peculiar circumstances. Justin relates, that the slaves, who at that period were very numerous in Tyre, formed a conspiracy against their masters, and murdered them all in one night, with the exception of a single citizen called Strato, whose life was saved by the humanity of his servant. Having taken possession of the houses, of the property, and even of the ladies, married and unmarried, they resolved to found a new dynasty; when, by the ingenuity of the compassionate slave, the election fell on Strato, the only surviving freeman within the walls of the city.*

I have, on the authority of Justin, related this anecdote, which has certainly the disadvantage of carrying a fabulous aspect, because Alexander the Great is said to have alluded to it, as an apology for the severities which he inflicted upon the inhabitants, when their city afterwards fell into his hands.

The most remarkable event connected with the history of Tyre, is the desolation inflicted upon it by that Macedonian prince. When the conqueror, in his progress through Syria, drew near the territory of that ancient state, a deputation of the principal inhabitants, among whom was the king's own son, went forth to congratulate him, or to solicit

* Unus ex tot millibus servorum fuit, qui miti ingenio senis domini, parvulique filii ejus fortuna moveretur; dominosque non truci feritate, sed piæ misericordiæ humanitate respiceret.—*Justin.* xviii. 3.

his forbearance. The gifts and the address which they presented to him were graciously received; but when to his request that he might be permitted to enter their gates, and perform a sacrifice to Hercules, they returned a direct and firm refusal, his anger burst forth in the most tremendous denunciations against them and their city. It was in vain that they represented to the enraged soldier the faith and service which they had sworn to Darius, or reminded him that, as long as the Persian monarch lived, they could not honourably absolve themselves from their obligation to maintain his interests. In reply to all these remonstrances the son of Philip declared, that if they did not immediately open their gates for the purpose which he mentioned, he would pull down their walls and lay their houses level with the dust.

But the Tyrians were not dismayed at his threatenings. Confiding in the strength of their fortifications, which had, during thirteen years, resisted the whole force of the Assyrian empire, and in the aid of their allies the Carthaginians, who had already acquired the command of the sea, they determined rather to encounter the hazard and privations of a siege, than to submit to the terms which might be dictated by a young, an irascible, and ambitious prince, who had not yet learned moderation from a reverse of fortune. Their city, besides, stood on an island half a mile distant from the shore; was surrounded with a wall a hundred and fifty feet high; and was, moreover, stored with abundance of provisions, and with all sorts of military engines, whether for attack or for defence. In addition to these considerations, Justin informs us, that the remembrance of the great exploits performed by Dido increased at once their pride and their courage. They thought it base that, while a woman had extended her dominion over a third part of the globe, the men she had left

behind should not be able to defend their native country and maintain its independence.*

The Macedonians began their operations by constructing a mound from the mainland to the island on which the new city was built; and it is said that the ruins of the town destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, supplied to Alexander materials for attacking and demolishing the other. The Tyrians at first viewed this laborious undertaking with feelings of ridicule and contempt; but when they saw the mass of stones and earth appearing above water at no great distance from their walls, their mirth gave place to more serious thoughts; upon which they resolved to redouble their efforts against an enemy who, to use their own language, was not afraid to wage war even with Neptune himself.

In their first attempt to destroy the mole, they were assisted by a violent storm; which, arising suddenly, swept away a large portion of it, and thereby reduced the Macedonians to the utmost perplexity and despair. Even Alexander himself would have been happy to terminate his enterprise by an amicable accommodation: but calling to mind that the Tyrians had thrown headlong into the sea, the heralds by whom, at the first, he summoned them to surrender, he soon abandoned the intention of having recourse to treaty. Revenge and regard for his military reputation equally incited him to persevere. Influenced, accordingly, by these strong motives, he encouraged his men to resume their labour upon the mound; by means of which alone they could ever hope to humble the pride

* Augebat enim Tyriis animos Didonis exemplum, quæ, Carthagine condita, tertiam partem Orbis quæssiset; turpe ducentes si fæminis suis plus animi fuisset in imperio quærendo, quam sibi in tuenda libertate.—*Justini Hist.* lib. xi. cap. 10.

of Tyre, and to gain a double triumph over the fury of her waves and the strength of her battlements. The Macedonians, who admired their youthful leader, and put the utmost confidence in his fortune, renewed their exertions with alacrity and vigour; till at length, at a great expense of toil and of life, the work was so far completed as to enable them to mount their battering-rams, and ply their various machines against the walls.

To counteract the effects of this advantage gained by the enemy, the Tyrians had recourse to all the means which skill or valour could suggest. They poured forth from engines, constructed for the purpose, showers of red-hot iron and of scorching sand, which carried destruction into the ranks of the assailants. But, at length, notwithstanding all their exertions, they had the mortification to find that the walls were giving way under the incessant action of the battering-rams, and that a breach must soon be effected. With their characteristic activity and resolution, therefore, they began to build a new wall, ten cubits thick and five cubits distant from the old one; filling up the space between the two with earth and stones. It was long before the Macedonians could make any impression on this massy bulwark. A breach was, however, formed, and Alexander led his men to the assault; encouraged by the hope that their toils were now about to terminate, and that the hour of revenge and compensation was at hand. But the Tyrians, on their part, were so well prepared to receive them, that even the veterans who had shaken the power of Persia could not force their way into the city. They were driven back with tremendous slaughter, and compelled to seek refuge in their ships and trenches; while, in the course of one night, the besieged so completely repaired their walls as to present once more to the eye of the enemy the same means of defence and

resistance which appeared at the beginning. The attack was soon after renewed with the most fierce and desperate courage; when it was again met with so much coolness and military science, that Alexander, in order to prevent the disgrace of a complete discomfiture, thought it expedient to sound a retreat. Nor did the Tyrians on such occasions confine themselves to defensive measures, but, advancing from their fortifications, pursued the Macedonians into the heart of their works; and, by using weapons which were quite unknown to the latter, they inflicted upon them the most painful and deadly wounds.

The son of Philip, unable any longer to resist the solicitations of his officers, who bewailed the loss of their best men, and the obstinacy which persevered in a hopeless war with impregnable forts and a tempestuous sea, was about to withdraw his army, and proceed to accomplish his meditated invasion of Egypt. His proposal to make another effort to reduce the proud queen of the ocean was supported by Amyntas alone; who, with his master, distinctly foresaw the consequences, dangerous to the reputation of the Macedonian arms, which would result from the relinquishment of an enterprise which had already attracted the attention of all the surrounding nations.

To second the views of Alexander, superstition or treachery had begun, within the city, to portend an issue fatal to the cause of independence. Some dreamer announced that Apollo had resolved to abandon their interests and pass over to the Macedonians. It was to no purpose that they bound his statue with golden chains to the altar of Hercules; for the intention of the god being known, the hopes of the citizens gave way and their effors relaxed. Alexander, meanwhile, brought up all his strength, rebuilt his towers, and added to the num-

ber of his machines; and having again succeeded in battering down a part of the wall, he rushed with irresistible impetuosity into the breach, and finally carried the whole fortifications by storm. Justin, indeed, relates that Tyre fell by treachery; but this opinion is not supported by the general current of history.* Neither Arrian nor Quintus Curtius gives any countenance to such a suspicion; while Ælian says it was won by stratagem, and Polyænus, that it was taken by assault.

The triumph of Alexander was sullied by the cruelties which he exercised upon the inhabitants of Tyre. It is said that he put eight thousand of them to the sword, condemned two thousand to be crucified, and sold not fewer than thirty thousand for slaves. He attempted to palliate this inhumanity, by a reference to the crime which it was alleged had been committed by their forefathers, when they slew their masters, usurped the government of the city, and placed Strato on the throne. The real offences, perhaps, which the victor meant to punish, were the determined bravery with which they had resisted his attacks, and the severe loss which they had thereby inflicted upon his army. It is, no doubt, true that he showed much clemency towards the noble families who continued to have their residence at Tyre, and that he permitted Azelmic, a descendant of the king just named, to enjoy the royal dignity, and even to retain the show of power which he had possessed under the Persian monarch. So far, at least, he gave plausibility to the pretext which he held forth for his inhuman treatment of the people at large; whose claim to the character of freemen he did not

* Non magno post tempore per proditionem capiuntur.—*Justini Hist.* lib. xi. 10.

choose to recognize, and whose fidelity to their oaths he visited with the reward which is due only to traitors or to rebellious bondmen.

The history of Tyre from this period ceases to have any connection with that of the ancient people of Jehovah. A natural curiosity may, however, be gratified by the information, that this city of merchants recovered once more its wealth and its beauty, and rose into considerable consequence under the government of the Romans. It was invested by that people with the dignity and privileges of a free town. At a later epoch, when Christianity had obtained a regular establishment throughout the Roman world, Tyre was constituted the metropolitan see for the province of Phenicia. In the year of our Faith six hundred and thirty-six, it was subdued by the Saracens; under whose yoke it groaned during the space of nearly five centuries. It was recovered by the Christians in the year 1124, and, notwithstanding the efforts of the warlike Saladin, continued for a long time to display from its towers the standard of the cross. But about 1289, it was compelled to acknowledge another master, in the person of the Turkish chief, who covered with his victorious armies the plains of Syria and Palestine.* Its present state, under the debasing influence of a government which combines at once the barbarism of a Tartar horde and the slavish tenets of the Mahometan creed, has been already described in the language of Maundrell.†

* Well's Geography of the New Testament, p. 186.

† The following quotation from the same intelligent traveller will not be read without interest:—"In the midst of the ruins there stands up one pile higher than the rest, which is the east end of a great church, probably the cathedral of Tyre: and why not the very same that was erected by its bishop Paulinus, and honoured with that famous consecration-sermon of Eusebius, recorded by himself in his Ecclesiastical History, book x. chapter 4.; this having been an archiepiscopal see in the Christian times?

Besides the kings of Tyre and Sidon, ancient historians likewise mention the sovereigns of Arados; whose territories, it should seem, were partly situated in an island of that name, and partly on the adjoining shores of the con-

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"I cannot in this place omit an observation made by most of our company in this journey, *viz.* that in all the ruins of churches which we saw, though their other parts were totally demolished, yet the east end was always found standing, and tolerably entire. Whether the Christians, when overrun by infidels, redeemed their altars from ruin with money; or whether even the barbarians, when they demolished the other parts of the churches, might voluntarily spare these, out of awe and veneration; or whether they have stood thus long by virtue of some peculiar firmness in the nature of their fabric; or whether some occult Providence has preserved them, as so many standing monuments of Christianity in these unbelieving regions, and presages of its future restoration, I will not determine. This only will I say, that we found it in fact, so as I described, in all the ruined churches that came in our way; being perhaps not fewer than one hundred: nor do I remember ever to have seen one instance of the contrary. This might justly seem a trifling observation were it founded upon a few examples only. But it being a thing so often, and indeed universally, observed by us, throughout our whole journey, I thought it must needs proceed from something more than blind chance, and might very well deserve this animadversion.

"But to return from this digression, there being an old staircase in this ruin last mentioned, I got up to the top of it; from whence I had an entire prospect of the island, part of Tyre, of the isthmus, and of the adjacent shore. I thought I could from this elevation discern the isthmus to be of a soil of a different nature from the other two; it lying lower than either, and being covered all over with sand, which the sea casts upon it, as the tokens of its natural right to a passage there, from which it was by Alexander the Great injuriously excluded. The island of Tyre in its natural state seems to have been of a circular figure, containing not more than forty acres of ground. It discovers still the foundation of a wall, which anciently encompassed it round, at the outmost margin of the land. It makes with the isthmus two large bays; one on its north side, and the other on its south. These bays are in part defended from the ocean, each by a long ridge resembling a mole, stretching directly out on both sides, from the head of the island; but these ridges, whether they were walls or rocks, whether the work of art or nature, I was too far distant to discern.—Coming out of these ruins we saw the foundations of a very strong wall, running across the neck of land, and serving as a barrier to secure the city on this side. From this place we were one-third of an hour in passing the sandy isthmus, before we came to the ground which we apprehended to be the natural shore. From hence passing over part of a very fertile plain, which extends itself to a vast compass before Tyre, we arrived in three quarters of an hour at Roselayn. Our whole stage from Sidon hither was about eight hours.—*Maundrell's Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 41, 42, 43.

tinent. Of these petty princes no more than three are mentioned by any creditable author, Arbal, Narbal, and Gerostratus. Narbal is supposed to have served under Xerxes against the Greeks; for among the other chiefs who obeyed the summons of the Persian monarch, we find him specifically mentioned as Narbalus the Aradian.* Gerostratus, in like manner, lent the aid of his ships to Darius, when preparing to resist the aggressions of the Macedonian conqueror. He even joined the Persian fleet: but hearing that his son had entered into terms with the invader, and given up to him the most valuable part of their possessions both in Arados itself and on the mainland, he thought proper to sanction a measure which he could no longer oppose, and to resign himself and his little kingdom to the protection of Alexander.

If we may trust to Arrian, it was during the siege of Tyre that these events took place. About this time, says he, Gerostratus, king of Arados, and Enylus, king of Byblus, being assured that their dominions were taken possession of by Alexander, left Autophradates and his navy, and each with his fleet came and submitted himself to the son of Philip.† After the Macedonian conquest, the kingdom of Arados seems to have disappeared in the empire of the Seleucidæ, and to have been known afterwards only as a part of their extensive dominions.

In this chapter I have somewhat anticipated the general course of events, and carried the history of the Canaanitish nations beyond the period to which the chronological limits of my undertaking are properly confined. But whatever irregularity there may appear to be in this proceeding, it will be amply compensated by the convenience of having

* Not *Arabian*, as it is commonly read. † Arrian, lib. ii. c. 20.

under the eye at once a connected narrative of occurrences, which, if separated, and scattered over different chapters of a miscellaneous work, would necessarily lose much of their interest, and even in a great measure cease to be intelligible to an ordinary reader. Besides, the details into which I have entered seemed the more necessary, because Dr Shuckford has not, in any part of his volumes, given an account of those ancient tribes who possessed the land of Canaan when it was invaded by Joshua, and who, during many successive generations, disputed with the chosen people the right to an inheritance which the latter claimed only in virtue of a divine promise made to their fathers.

On the subject of this chapter, the reader may consult

Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. xvi. xvii.
Herodotus, lib. vii.
Plutarchus, De Fortuna Alexandri.
Justinus, lib. xi.
Curtius, lib. iv.
Ælianus. Var. Hist. lib. vii.
Maximus Tyrius, Serm. iv.
Sellers' History of Palmyra.
Macrobius. Saturnal. lib. i.
Travels of Sandys, Thevenot, De Bruyn, Volney, Niebuhr, Shaw, and Maundrell.
Arrianus, lib. ii.
Josephus. Antiq. Jud. lib. ix. et Contra Apion, lib. i.
Strabo, lib. xvi.
Pausanias in Bœot. de Fluviis.
Hales. New Analysis.
Ancient Universal History, volumes i. ii.
Menand. Ephes. apud Josephum.
Eusebius. Præp. Evang. lib. i.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE IRANIAN OR ANCIENT PERSIAN MONARCHY.

ALTHOUGH the nations comprehended in the old Iranian empire had no immediate connection with the Hebrews during the period that the latter people were governed by the Judges, they nevertheless present a strong claim to our attention; because, according to certain authors, they divided with the Assyrians, in the earliest times, the command of those fine countries which extend from the Armenian mountains to the Persian gulf, and from the banks of the Euphrates to those of the Indus. It must be acknowledged that, before the era of Grecian history, we have no account on which we can rely respecting the affairs of Iran. The writings of the native annalists, replete with superstition and romance, form no solid ground for belief in regard either to the antiquity or the constitution of their government; while the Jewish authors, on the other hand, confining themselves to the events which affected the interests of their own country, at an epoch

still later than that of Herodotus and Xenophon, afford very little assistance to our antiquarian and chronological researches.

It cannot be necessary to remark that Persia, which was merely one of the divisions of the great empire of which we are now assuming the existence, obtained, from the accidental circumstance of having given birth to Cyrus, the distinction of extending its name over all the other provinces which acknowledged the same crown.* But to the inhabitants of those extensive regions, whether in ancient or in modern times, their country has always been known as the kingdom of Iran. According to their description, too, it was the largest empire that ever existed in the world; being bounded by four great seas, the Black sea, the Red sea, the Caspian sea, and the ocean which washes the southern shores of Persia.† These details, however, belong to the works of authors who, it may be suspected, had no better means of information than are accessible to the diligence of every European scholar: on which account we cannot help classing the geographical descriptions of ancient Iran, with those vain and fantastic traditions which ascribe to their first monarchs the government of all Asia, and the power of having maintained a successful rivalry with the immortal gods themselves.

As in the case of the Assyrian empire, the want of authentic records has, in various instances, induced the chronologer to restrict the term of Iranian dominion to much narrower limits than those which have been assigned

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* "Pars. Les anciens Persans ont ainsi appellé leur propre pays, que nous appellons la *Perse*. Ces sont les Arabes, qui n'ont point de P dans leur alphabet, qui ont prononcé ce mot *Fars*, qui est plus en usage aujourd'hui dans tout le Levant que non pas celui de Pars."—*Bibliotheque Orientale*, p. 693.

† Chardin, cited by Sir William Drummond, Origines, vol. i. p. 296.

to it by oriental vanity. Sir William Jones admits that he had yielded to the arguments of Newton, who, the reader is well aware, maintained that, until about two hundred years after the reign of Solomon, there was no extensive monarchy in the great plain of the Euphrates, and that, in all preceding ages, the country had been divided into a number of petty states and principalities. "Of this opinion," says he, "I confess myself to have been; when, disregarding the wild chronology of the Mussulmans and Gabrs, I had allowed the utmost natural duration to the reigns of eleven Pishdadi kings, without being able to add more than a hundred years to Newton's computation. It seemed, indeed, unaccountably strange, that although Abraham had found a regular monarchy in Egypt; although the kingdom of Yemen had just pretensions to a very high antiquity; although the Chinese, in the twelfth century before our era, had made approaches at least to the present form of their extensive dominion; and although we can hardly suppose the first Indian monarchs to have reigned less than three thousand years ago; yet Persia, the most delightful, the most compact, the most desirable country of them all, should have remained for so many ages unsettled and disunited. A fortunate discovery, for which I was first indebted to Mir Muhammed Husain, one of the most intelligent Mussulmans in India, has at once dissipated the cloud, and cast a gleam of light on the primeval history of Iran and of the human race, of which I had long despaired, and which could hardly have dawned from any other quarter."*

The work here alluded to is the Dabistan, a treatise on the several religions of India, of which I have already

* The Sixth Discourse; On the Persians. Works, vol. iii. p. 109. 8vo edit. 1807.

made mention, and compiled by Mohsin, surnamed Fani or the Perishable. From the various authorities which he consulted, he professes to have learned that a powerful monarchy had been established in Iran for ages before the accession of Kayumers; that it was called the Mahabadian dynasty; and that many princes, of whom only seven or eight are named in the Dabistan, had raised their empire to the zenith of human glory. "If," adds Sir William Jones, "we can rely on this evidence, which to me appears unexceptionable, the Iranian monarchy must have been the oldest in the world; but it will remain dubious to which of the three stocks, Hindu, Arabian, or Tartar, the first kings of Iran belonged, or whether they sprang from a *fourth* race distinct from any others; and these are questions which we shall be able, I imagine, to answer precisely when we have carefully examined into the *languages* and *letters*, *religion* and *philosophy*, and incidentally into the *arts* and *sciences* of the ancient Persians."*

Before we enter upon an examination of the particular statements contained in the Dabistan, I shall give a brief outline of the ancient history of Persia, as derived from other sources.

When proceeding to such an inquiry we naturally turn our attention, in the first place, to the inspired writings; but in them, on the present occasion, we are supplied with nothing besides the narrative, already so often mentioned, of the war in which Chedorlaomer engaged his vassals, or confederates, against the kings of Pentapolis.† Josephus, too, who follows the authority of the sacred volume very closely, satisfies himself with relating, that Shem, the third son of Noah, had five sons, who obtained

* Sixth Discourse, at the place already cited.

† Genesis xiv. 1—6.

possession of the country which extends from the Euphrates to the Indian ocean: for Elam gave birth to the Elamites, the ancestors of the Persians; while Ashur placed the seat of his government at Nineveh, and became the father of the Assyrians,—a nation blessed with success and power above all others.* After these early notices, we find not, either in the Scriptures or in the annalist of the Jews, any record whence we might be enabled to trace the progress of this great people through the early stages of their history. Placed at a distance from the land of promise, it was not until the Assyrian empire had begun to verge towards its decline, that the natives of Phars rose to such a degree of consequence as to affect the interests or awaken the fears of the descendants of Israel. The Greeks, on the other hand, as we have already observed, were not less ignorant than careless in regard to the origin and affairs of those eastern tribes, whom they were pleased to denominate barbarians: and hence we are compelled to rely upon the industry and good faith of such Persian chroniclers as may have judged it expedient to guide their narrative by a reference to some leading points in chronology.

Among these writers the first place is usually assigned to Emirchond, more commonly known by the name of Mirkhond; who has given two dynasties of Persian kings, reaching from the earliest times to the subversion of the empire by Alexander the Great. The former of the lists now mentioned, as adjusted by Dr Hales, stands as follows:—

* Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. i. c. 6.

1st Persian Dynasty, comprehending 529 years.

	Y.	B.C.
1. Kaiumarath or Keiomarras, (560)	40	2190
Siamek, - -		
Kaiumarath again, - -	30	2150
2. Hushang or Houschenk, called Pischdad or Chedorlaomer, -	50	2120
3. Tahmuras, (700) - -	30	2070
4. Giamschid or Giemschid, -	30	2040
5. Dahak, Zabak, or Zoak, (1000)	30	2010
6. Aphridun, Phridun, or Pheridun,	120	1980
7. Manugiahr, called Phirouz, (500)	120	1860
8. Nodar, - -	7	1740
9. Apherasiab or Apasiab, -	12	1733
10. Zoab, Zab, or Zoub, -	30	1721
11. Gershab or Gershasp, - -	30	1691
End of the dynasty,	529	1661

The extravagant reigns of some of these princes, 560, 700, 1000, and 500 years, are, says the rector of Killesandra, corrected by the soberer accounts of other oriental writers, so as to reduce the whole length of the dynasty to a moderate compass. The chronology, he adds, is adjusted from the resemblance between the actions of Hushang and Chedorlaomer, who might alike have been slain by Abraham in B.C. 2070. From this fixed epoch, counting the reigns both upwards and downwards, the dates of each are determined.*

This adjustment by Dr Hales of the ancient chronology

* Hales, vol. iii. p. 29. See also the Bibliotheque Orientale of M. Herbelot, art. *Mirchond.*

of Iran cannot give satisfaction, because it proceeds upon a principle entirely arbitrary, and even assumes the existence of an historical fact which is not only destitute of evidence, but is at the same time not a little remote from probability. That Hushang and Chedorlaomer were the same individual, is a position which rests upon mere conjecture; on which account, it is very obvious, no reliance can be placed upon a system, the truth of which depends upon the accuracy of a postulate so extremely questionable. Besides, the catalogue which I have just transcribed is not a correct copy of the list given by the Persian historians; at least if our judgment in this matter ought to be determined by the fidelity of the Bibliotheque Orientale.* Sir William Drummond, I think, has taken a more reasonable view of this subject; the grounds of whose opinion, as connected with the statements contained in the Dabistan, will be laid before the reader, when we resume at somewhat greater length our inquiries into the origin of the Persian government.

The first dynasty recognized by Persian antiquaries, with the exception of Mohsin, is that which descended

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* *Premiere Dynastie des Peschdadiens.*

Le Roi	regna.	vecut.
1. Caimurath,		
2. Siamek,	560	1000
3. Interregne,	200	
4. Tahamurath,	30	
5. Giamschid,	700	1000
6. Zhohak,	1000	
7. Afridoun or Feredoun,	500	
8. Manongheber,	120	
9. Nodar,	7	
10. Afrascab,	12	
11. Zab,	30	
12. Gustabb,	20 or 30	

Supplement a la Bibliotheque Orientale, de M. D'Herbelot, p. 158.

from Kaiomars or Kaiomarth, the most ancient sovereign of their country. Some of these writers maintain that he was the grandson of Noah; others assert that he was the son of Yessun-Ajum; but they all acknowledge him to have been the founder of that particular race of kings which is known among historians by the name of the Peshdadian or the *Legislative*. This honourable distinction was earned by the labours of the first monarch, who spared no pains to reclaim his people from the savage condition in which he found them. But the restraint of law did not at the first prove agreeable to his barbarous subjects; who, resenting the efforts which he made to bring them within the limits of civilization, took up arms and opposed him in the field. His son Siamack was killed in a battle fought with the rebels; upon which the king himself, assuming the command of his faithful followers, went out, determined to subdue by force a host of enemies whom reason could not convince nor kindness conciliate.

Ferdusi has described this war in a poem, written, no doubt, says the author of a recent work on Persia, from the most ancient histories and traditions, but heightened by his own rich imagination, and clouded by a thousand fables. In his pages these barbarous enemies of Kaiomars are termed deevs or magicians; and when that monarch carried Hushang, the infant son of Siamack; to share in the revenge which he meant to take upon his enemies, his army, according to the poet, was joined by all the lions, tigers, and panthers, in his dominions; and the deevs were routed and torn to pieces in their flight by the auxiliaries who had left their native forests to aid the just king. After this victory Kaiomars returned to Balkh, his capital; where, we are informed by one author, that he resigned the crown to his grandson Hushang; while another asserts that it was not till he died that he transmitted the

succession to the young prince just named. Both state that he reigned thirty years.*

This narrative will be divested of its fabulous air when we recollect that, in the figurative language of poetry, lions and tigers denote the strong and the brave; and especially that, in the phraseology of eastern barbarians, all men who possessed more knowledge or more courage than themselves were denounced evil spirits or magicians. The rude inhabitants of Tartary, at the present day, apply these epithets to the Chinese; being unwilling to admit that their brutal strength could be overcome except by supernatural arts or diabolical stratagems.†

Hushang, the second ruler of the Peshdadian race, was renowned for his wisdom and justice; but as to the length of his reign, as well as the events by which it was occupied, there is no approach to unanimity among Persian writers. His name is associated with the origin of some splendid cities, and with the invention of many useful arts. He is said to have been the first who had knowledge or ingenuity enough to construct an aqueduct,—a benefaction to the arid plains of Persia which has immortalized his reign.‡ Ferdusi also attributes to him the honour of discovering a method for obtaining fire, by the collision of stones and other hard substances; which element he devoted to the service of God, and commanded it to

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* History of Persia, by Sir John Malcolm, vol. i. p. 13.

† "Deev means magician; and in Sanscrit it means a brahman, perhaps from some of that tribe pretending to be sorcerers."—*History of Persia, as above.*

‡ These aqueducts are made by a succession of small wells, at the distance of a few yards from each other, and of such depth as the level and soil require: they are connected with each other at the bottom by a channel large enough for a man to pass to clear it. These wells commence at a spring, and convey not only its waters, but that of such other springs as are found in the course of the canal: they are common through all Persia; the water they convey is applied to irrigation.—*History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 14.

be preserved with care in a holy temple, as the fittest emblem of the divine attributes, and as not less indispensable to the comfort and improvement of the human being. Hushang is even mentioned as the author of a work possessing a high share of literary merit. After a reign of forty years, he terminated a useful and apparently a peaceful life, when he yielded the throne of Persia to his son Tahamars.

This prince renewed a successful war against the ancient enemies of his family; and hence he merited the name of Deev-bund, or the Magician-binder. But his victories were not altogether due to the military talent and courage which directed his arms. Persian authors relate that he was indebted for the most of his triumphs to the supernatural gifts of his prime minister Sheerasp, who used all kinds of spells and enchantments to entrap the deevs. These last, however, appear to have been superior to their conquerors in science and the arts; for it is confessed that a number of them who were prisoners redeemed their lives from Tahamars by teaching him to read and write. "We learn from the same author who records these events, that the worship of idols was first introduced under this prince; and the account of its origin given by him must be admitted to be very natural. A malignant disease had raged for so long a time in Persia, that men, distracted at losing many of their dearest friends and relations, desired to preserve the memory of them by busts and images, which they kept in their houses as some consolation under their affliction. These images were transmitted to posterity, by whom they were still more venerated: and in the course of time the memorials of tender regard were elevated into objects of adoration."*

* History of Persia and Zeenut-ul-Tuarekh, cited by Sir John Malcolm.

After Tahamurs had governed Persia thirty years, he was succeeded by his nephew Gemshid, a monarch whose wealth and magnificence were displayed in the erection of Persepolis, which to this day is called Tukht-e-Gemshid, or the throne of Gemshid.* Besides improving the arts and cultivating the manners which were introduced by his predecessors, he adopted the oriental practice of dividing his subjects into four great classes or castes: the first consisting of learned and pious men who were devoted to the service of God; the second, of such persons as were qualified to write and keep the public records; the third, of soldiers destined to fight the battles of their country, and to instruct others in the various arts of attack and defence; the fourth and last, comprehending artizans, husbandmen, and tradesmen.

The same king is likewise said to have marked the boundaries of the solar year, and to have appointed a festival to be kept on the first day of it, which coincided with the vernal equinox.† The early part of his reign was in the highest degree prosperous; but being depraved by his good fortune, he began to imagine that the destiny of mankind was placed in his hands; proclaimed himself a god; and gave orders that his statues should be worshipped, and ranked among the other emblems or representatives of divine power. This absurd and impious resolution, which at once disgusted and enraged his subjects, was soon followed by his downfall. The celebrated Zohak, availing himself of the discontent which pervaded the whole of Iran, entered the kingdom with a formidable army, when

* History of Persia, vol. i. p. 16. It is likewise called Istakr by the Persians.

† It is called Nouroze, or New-Year's day, and is still the greatest festival in Persia. Some of the sculpture at Persepolis is supposed to represent the processions at this festival.—*History of Persia*, p. 17.

he not only drove Gemshid from the throne, but compelled him to seek refuge in distant and barbarous countries.

"The wanderings of the exiled monarch," says Sir J. Malcolm, "are wrought into a tale which is among the most popular in Persian romance. His first adventure was in the neighbouring province of Seistan, where the only daughter of the ruling prince was led, by a prophecy of her nurse, to fall in love with him, and to contract a secret marriage: but the unfortunate Gemshid was pursued through Seistan, India, and China, by the agents of the implacable Zohak, by whom he was at last seized, and carried before his cruel enemy like a common malefactor. Here his miseries closed: for, after enduring all that proud scorn could inflict upon fallen greatness, he was placed between two boards, and sawn asunder with the bone of a fish."*

Gemshid was succeeded on the throne of Iran by this Zohak, concerning whose origin and descent there has been no small difference of opinion. According to some historians, he was an Arabian by birth, although sprung from the blood of Kaiomars; others maintain that he was a native of Syria, and a descendant of Shedad; while a third class of antiquaries, as we shall afterwards find, identify him with Nimrod, the son of Cush. But all of them agree in describing him to have been of a most sanguinary and vindictive disposition. The fable which represents him as the prey of two monstrous serpents, which fed upon his flesh, and which nothing but the brains of human beings could appease, had unquestionably a moral application; and pointed, it is probable, to the ungovernable passions which incited him to perpetrate those horrible cruelties with which his memory is loaded. To satiate the appe-

* History of Persia, vol. i. p. 18.

tite of Zohak's tormentors, it was necessary that two of his subjects should be put to death every day,—a practice which continued until the virtuous indignation of a blacksmith in Isphahan, whose sons were about to fall victims to the tyranny of the prince, relieved the empire from its terrors. This mechanic, addressing himself to the patriotism as well as to the fears and revenge of his countrymen, soon had the satisfaction to see a large body of insurgents with arms in their hands, and animated by a firm determination to push the usurper from the throne of Iran. The blacksmith's apron was converted into a standard, which was ever after regarded as the symbol of liberty and independence; the palladium of national honour; and the token of popular rights and privileges. Making choice of Pheridûn, whose father had been murdered by Zohak, to wear the vacant diadem, the Persians followed him to battle against their cruel oppressor. The cause of freedom was triumphant; the tyrant was defeated in several actions; and being at length made prisoner, was put to death with lingering torments, as a suitable punishment for his numerous crimes.

Sir William Drummond is of opinion, that the Peschdadian dynasty terminated in the person of Gemshid, and that Zohak, being Nimrod, or the oldest Belus, was the first of that long line of Assyrian kings who exercised the government of Persia not less than a thousand years. It is no doubt true, that several authors have extended the reign of the prince now named to ten centuries; but the same writers have given a similar duration to the lives of other sovereigns both before and after him,—a circumstance which militates strongly against the hypothesis just stated. Kaiomars, for example, is said to have ruled five hundred and sixty years, Phirouz five hundred, and Tahamurs not less than seven hundred; and yet, as we

have no authority for concluding that these terms were meant to denote dynasties instead of single reigns, we must hesitate in admitting the opinion adopted by the author of the Origines, that, by the thousand years assigned to Zohak, the Persians intended to indicate the period during which their country was governed by the monarchs of Assyria. Persian vanity, he thinks, unwilling to acknowledge that Iran ever submitted to a foreign yoke, has devised this expedient for disguising the true character of an historical fact which could neither be denied nor altogether concealed. But the question still recurs, if the thousand years of Zohak denoted the length of time occupied by a dynasty consisting of many members, what are we to understand to have been indicated by the seven hundred years of Tahamurs, and by the five hundred and sixty years of Kaiomars? If the latter numbers be applied to the government of individuals, why should we interpret the former so as to comprehend the reigns of a long series of princes?

This learned writer, as I have already suggested, is pleased to rank himself among those who maintain that Zohak and Nimrod were the same person, namely, Amraphel, the king of Shinar, who fought under the banners of Chedorlaomer, in the vale of Siddim, and was finally discomfited by the patriarch Abraham. The following are the grounds upon which Sir William holds this article of his historical faith:

"1. I have already shown," says he, alluding to a former part of his book, "that Nimrod received this appellation, because he was considered as a rebel. Zohak was also a rebel, since he was the son of one of the viziers of the Persian monarch. Amar-Pel—the form in which he writes Amraphel—was a vassal of the king of Iran or Ilam.

"2. Zohak is said by some writers to have invaded Iran at the head of an Arabian army. Ninus, whom the Greeks have often put in the place of Nimrod, was joined by the king of Arabia with all his forces, when he made war against the Persians.

"3. *Amar* or *Amir-Pel, Dux Bel,* was one of the vassal kings who served under the standard of Chedorlaomer. Now the king of Shinar, in the days of Abraham, must either have been a descendant of Nimrod or Nimrod himself.

"4. Belus and Nimrod are generally acknowledged to be the same. Amar-Pel, and Bel or Belus, were also apparently the same.

"5. Ninus was supported in his expedition against Persia by Ariæus, king of Arabia. Zohak commanded the forces of *Ad* or *Ar,* when he invaded Iran.* Now it seems not improbable that this Arabian king was the Arioch of Scripture. Arioch is called king of Ellasar; but the Masorites ought never to be trusted for the pronunciation of foreign names in the Hebrew text. I read אלסר, *Al-Sar.* Why Symmachus and Jerom fancied *Al-Sar* to be the kingdom of Pontus, I am unable to conjecture. It appears more probable that by *Al-Sar,* the sacred historian meant to indicate Sarian, which city stands in north latitude 35, about fifty miles north-east of Emesa."

Sir William assures us that he offers this opinion with considerable confidence, because in the Arabic version he finds אלסר, *Al-Sar,* supplied by *Sarian.* The original name, therefore, in Arabic, he concludes, was *Sar,* with the *Al* prefixed, as is usual in that language. Arioch may, therefore, he thinks, have been the same as the Ariæus, who,

* Mem. de M. Anquetil du Perron.

according to Diodorus Siculus, aided Ninus when he invaded Persia.

"6. Zohak had a brother, according to the Persians, one of whose names was *Kus*. This brother of Zohak, like Nimrod himself, was probably descended from Cush. I have now only to add," says the author of the Origines, "that though Nimrod or Belus was denominated Zohak by the Persians, yet we must consider this name as representing, among the nations beyond the Tigris, not only Nimrod, but the whole Assyrian dynasty from that prince to Sardanapalus. Thus we shall easily understand why the reign of Zohak is said to have lasted a thousand years.

There is nothing conclusive either in the facts or in the reasoning which have now been adduced. If we admit that Nimrod and Zohak were the same person, and that this Iranian tyrant lived in the days of Abraham, we shall find ourselves brought to the absurd conclusion already refuted, that Zohak was likewise Ninus; that he was at once Nimrod and the son of Nimrod; and even that he was himself the very Arabian king from whom he derived assistance in his wars against Persia. There is throughout the whole of this statement such a mixture of hypotheses, each proving the absurdity of the one before it, that it is not easy to conjecture what was the real opinion of the author when he wrote it. In one part of it, indeed, he expresses himself with becoming caution. Assuming the identity of Nimrod and Zohak, he reminds us that the latter had a brother named Kus; whence he concludes that this brother of Zohak, like Nimrod himself, was probably descended from Cush; that is, the two brothers owned the same lineage and proceeded from the same ancestor. But, after all, according to Herbelot, the Kus in question was the actual son of Canaan, and, of course, the father of Nimrod or Zohak; whence we may justly infer that

the Persian writers were not possessed of any correct information respecting the early history of their country, and had not arrived at any distinct conclusions in regard to the names and succession of their first sovereigns.*

Pheridûn, who expelled the ferocious Zohak, was amongst the most popular and beloved of Iranian kings. He restored to his people the enjoyment of peace and confidence, to which they had long been strangers; and to commemorate their recent struggle for these greatest of earthly blessings, as well as their triumph over an unprincipled despot, he gave orders that the blacksmith's apron which had been converted into the royal standard of Persia, should be held sacred, and richly ornamented with jewels; to which every king, from Pheridûn to the last of the Pehlevi monarchs, made some addition. It was called the Derufsh-e-Kawanee, the banner of Kawa, and continued to be the national flag of Persia till the Mahomme-

* L'auteur du *Lebtarekh* donné a Dhohak un frere, nommé *Kus Fildendan*. Ce prince regna en Afrique, et particulierement dans la partie d'Ethiopie que les Orientaux appellent *Berber* ou *Berberah*. C'est le pays que nous nommons le *Zanguebar*, et la côte du Cafrarie, ou est le *Sinus Barbaricus* dont Ptolomée fait mention. Ce Kus, qui est le Chus, fils de Chanaan, que les Hebreux disent etre le pere des Ethiopiens, auxquels ils donnent le nom de *Chuschim*, est surnommé *Dent d'Elephant*, a cause qu'il regna dans le pays d'ou l'on tire l'ivoire; et l'on ajoute que voulant se faire rendre des honneurs divins, Feridoun envoya contre lui une puissante armée qui le reduisit a son obedience.—*Biblioth. Orientale. art.* DHOHAK.

The absurdity of placing Nimrod and Abraham in the same generation has already been sufficiently exposed. It is a notion which appears to have originated among Mahommedan writers, who are known to have been very ignorant of the early history of the countries which were overrun by the arms of their prophet. "Des historiens Mahometans qui se sont toujours faitun devoir de denaturer ce qui est plus ancien que l'Alcoran, rapportent que Nembrod fut un roi de Perse, contemporain d'Abraham. Les Rabbins, les commentateurs, les historiens modernes, *et les etymologistes*, d'apres cette fausse supposition, se sont gravement livrés a mille conjectures ridicules sur la grandeur naturelle, la vie, et la mort de ce prince.—*Cirbied Recherches Curieuses sur l'Histoire ancienne de l'Asie*, p. 30.

dan conquest, when it was taken in battle by Saad-e-Wukass, and sent to the Caliph Omar.*

But the public tranquillity, which distinguished the reign of Pheridûn, was frequently interrupted in his own bosom by the bitterness of domestic grief. The crimes of his elder sons gave rise to one of the most affecting tales in Persian romance; the only form in which the several events connected with their guilt have been handed down to posterity. This patriotic king had three male children, Selm, Toor, and Erij; the two former by one mother, a daughter of Zohak; the latter by a princess of Persia, named Irandocht, or the daughter of Iran. After these three princes were united in marriage to three daughters of a king of Arabia, their father resolved to divide among them his extensive dominions. To Selm he gave the countries comprehended in modern Turkey; to Toor he gave Tartary and part of China; and to Erij he assigned his native province of Persia. The young men departed to their respective governments; but the two elder, displeased that Persia, the fairest of lands, and the seat of royalty, should have been conferred upon Erij, combined to effect his ruin. They first sent to Pheridûn to reproach him with his partiality and injustice; requiring that he should reconsider what he had done, and threatening an immediate attack upon his kingdom, if he did not accede to their demands. The aged monarch was greatly distressed. He represented to them that his days were drawing to a close, and entreated that he might be allowed to depart from this world in peace.

The youngest son, upon discovering what was intended,

* History of Persia, vol. i. p. 20.

resolved to go to his brothers and lay his crown at their feet, rather than continue to be the cause of a dissension which so much afflicted their common parent. He even prevailed upon the old king to consent to this measure; and obtained a letter from him to Selm and Toor, making known his purpose, and entreating them to live together in harmony and friendship. This appeal had no effect; and the virtuous Erij was slain by his brothers, who had the additional barbarity to embalm his head and send it to their father. The old man is said to have fainted at the sight. When he recovered, he seized with frantic grief the head of his beloved son, and holding it in his raised hands, he called upon Heaven to punish the base perpetrators of so unnatural and cruel a deed. After uttering a pathetic imprecation against the seed of his elder children, he entreated that his life might be spared so long as to allow him to see a descendant spring up in the family of the murdered prince, who might have power and opportunity to revenge his death. "Then," exclaimed Pheridûn, "my aged head will repose with joy on any spot that is appointed to receive it."

The daughter of Erij was married to the nephew of Pheridûn; from which union there proceeded a son whose name was Manucheher, and who is said to have proved the very image of his grandfather. This child became the cherished hope of the aged monarch; and when the prince attained manhood, the former made every preparation to enable him to revenge the blood of Erij. Selm and Toor trembled as they saw the day of retribution approach: they despatched ambassadors with rich presents to their father, and entreated that Manucheher should be sent to them, that they might stand in his presence like slaves, and wash away the remembrance of their crimes by tears of contrition. Pheridûn returned their presents; and in his reply

to their message expressed his indignation in glowing terms. "Tell the merciless men," he exclaimed, "that they shall never see Manucheher but attended by armies and clothed in steel."—A war commenced; and in the first battle, Toor was slain by the lance of Manucheher. Selm retired to a fortress, from which he was drawn by a challenge from the youthful hero, who was likewise victorious in the second combat, and had the satisfaction to see tranquillity restored to the empire at large.

When Manucheher returned in triumph, the venerable Pheridûn advanced on foot to meet him: the prince dismounted when he approached, and, after kissing the ground, received his congratulations. The king died soon after; but before he expired he placed the crown on the head of the son of Erij, advising him to attend to the counsel of Soham, a nobleman of great wisdom and high birth, who was hereditary prince of Seistan. Pheridûn is said to have been the first monarch who rode upon an elephant, or who brought these animals into use in war. His wisdom and his goodness have been universally celebrated. His testament, which was addressed to his descendants at large, contained this admirable lesson, applicable alike to kings and to subjects: "Deem every day of your life as a leaf in your history; take care therefore that nothing be written in it that you would be ashamed to read or desirous to cancel."*

The reign of Manucheher was distinguished by no great exploits, except those to which it owed its commencement. Peace abroad, and tranquillity at home, afforded an occasion for the genius of poetry, to embellish, with her fic-

* History of Persia, vol. i. p. 24. Sir John Malcolm informs his readers that the story given above is translated literally from the pages of Ferdosi. I have repeated it nearly in the words of the historian of Persia.

tions, one of those incidents which the oriental imagination fixes on with so much delight, and removes, too, by no gradual steps, from the province of historical fact to the world of fancy and romance. Soham, the prime minister, to whose wisdom and integrity Pheridûn recommended the government of his successor, had a son, whose birth appeared so ominous, that he immediately exposed the infant on the mountain of Elburg, a wild and desolate place, and far from the approach of mankind. The young Zal was fed among the rocks by a simurgh or griffin, until the father, repenting of his cruel resolution, repaired to the desert and carried home his child.*

Zal in due time became the parent of the celebrated Roostum, who, being born a giant, required the milk of seven nurses and of as many sheep to satisfy his appetite, and to meet the demands of his vigorous constitution. He was equal to Samson in point of strength, and to Gideon and Jephthah in respect of courage, enterprise, and resolution. One of his principal achievements during the reign of Manucheher, was the conquest of the Sullah Suffeed in the province of Fars. This fort lies about seventy-six miles north-west of the city of Shiraz, and is situated on a high hill, which is almost perpendicular on every side. It is of an oblong form, and encloses a level space at the top of the mountain, which is covered with

* History of Persia, vol. i. p. 25. "It is possibly to this fable," says Sir John Malcolm, "that Grecian historians allude when they relate that Achæmenes was nurtured by an eagle. He is termed the founder of the greatest family in Persia; some authors state that he was the second of this family. Supposing Sam (who is, according to Persian authors, the founder of the greatest family in their country) the Persis of the Greeks; Zal, who was nursed by a simurgh, a fabulous bird, was his son. It is certain that all these heroes had many names or titles. Persis, and some word like Achæmenes, might have been those of Sam and Zal; but I am very little inclined to venture on this field of endless conjecture."

delightful verdure, and watered by numerous springs. The ascent is near three miles; and, for the last five or six hundred yards, the summit is so difficult of approach, that the slightest opposition, if well directed, might render it impregnable.* In the rude state of military science which prevailed in the days of Roostum, it cannot be surprising that even his prowess was at first directed against it in vain. After a tedious blockade, he had recourse to stratagem. Having disguised himself as a dealer in salt, of which he knew the garrison was much in want, he put bags upon his camels; and, in place of the article in which he pretended to trade, he concealed an armed man in each bag. No suspicion was excited, till after it was dark, when a furious attack was made upon the garrison by the soldiers whom Roostum had conveyed thus surreptitiously within the walls. The enemy made a desperate resistance; and it was not until the rays of the sun were about to gild the battlements of Sullah Suffeed, that the Iranian champion found himself in possession of one of the strongest fortresses in the world, and an immense quantity of treasure.

After a reign of a hundred and twenty years, Manucheher transmitted the sceptre of Iran to his son Nouzer. When, on his death-bed, he exhorted the young prince to confide in Soham and his family as the best supporters of the throne. But Nouzer soon forgot his father's counsel, and

* History of Persia. "I am indebted," says the General, "for this description to Lieutenant M'Donald, who visited this fort in 1810. It was then in possession of the tribe of Mumasenni, one of the aboriginal tribes of Persia. Their means of defence at this period were probably the same as in the days of Roostum: a line of large stones ranged in regular order around the edges of the precipice. Each stone is wedged in by one of smaller dimensions; when that is removed, the large stone or rather rock is hurled down, and sweeps every thing before it with irresistible force."

never consulted with the ancient advisers of the kingdom, until he saw his subjects, who could no longer bear his cruel and oppressive rule, on the very point of rebellion. He then solicited the attendance of the prime minister, and entreated him to adopt measures for new-modelling the government of the country, and to charge himself with its administration. Soham declined to resume the management of affairs; but promised his assistance in enabling Persia to withstand the shock of an invasion with which she was threatened on the part of Pushung, the king of Turan, who had raised an army of thirty thousand men, and put them in motion against Nouzer, under the command of his son Afrasiab. The pretext for this war was to revenge on the Persians the death of Selm and Toor. But the real cause was the distracted state of that people; and the troops of Turan or Scythia were encouraged as they advanced, by hearing of the death of Soham, an event which led them to anticipate a complete and easy conquest. Nor did their anticipations prove groundless. Two battles and two single combats placed the diadem of Persia on the head of Afrasiab, who soon afterwards took Nouzer prisoner and slew him. In one of the personal encounters now mentioned, Kobad, a son of the celebrated blacksmith, lost his life. The second was fought between the two princes; and, it is related, the son of Manucheher displayed in it so much skill and resolution, that his memory, which must otherwise have fallen into contempt, was regarded with some degree of respect and sympathy.

Afrasiab governed Persia twelve years, during which he was not less remarkable for his severity than for his talents as a warrior and statesman. Having seized all the chief nobles of that country, he determined to put them to death; but was turned aside from his purpose by his brother Agrasees, who persuaded him to rest satisfied with

their confinement in the fortress of Sari in Mazenderan.* About this period Zal, the son of Soham, who commanded the army of his father-in-law, the king of Kabul, made head against Afrasiab; and endeavoured to gain Agrasees to his cause by an offer, in the event of his releasing the Persian nobles, to raise him to the throne of that nation. It is stated that Zal justified this measure on the ground that the two sons of Nouzer, from weakness of character, were totally unfit to govern the empire; but it is more probable, as has been justly remarked, that he saw no hopes of relieving his country except by creating dissensions among its enemies. The Tartar prince agreed to the proposal, on condition that Zal should send against him a force of sufficient magnitude to afford him a fair pretext for retreating to defend Rhe, the seat of his government. It was at the same time arranged that a body of troops should march to Sari. This plan was executed; and the small detachment which was sent to that city succeeded in releasing the Persian nobles. Afrasiab soon afterwards discovered the treachery of his brother; upon which, that he might give to others a lesson of fidelity, he slew him with his sabre in the midst of the assembled chiefs of Turan.

The above stroke of policy, contrived by the foresight of Zal, enabled him to place on the throne of Persia a prince named Zoo or Zoowah, a descendant of Manucheher. Of his reign, neither history nor tradition has preserved any account which has the smallest pretensions to interest. He is said indeed to have achieved some conquests, and to have left an extended dominion to his son Gershasp;

* Sari is the present capital of Mazenderan. This town was visited by Jonas Hanway in 1743; and there were then standing four ancient temples, built in the shape of rotundas, about thirty feet in diameter, and nearly one hundred and twenty feet high.—*History of Persia*, p. 29.

but this young man, being equally destitute of wisdom and courage, was soon found incompetent to the duties of a sovereign, and was consequently set aside to make room for a new king and a new dynasty.*

The last of the Peshdadian race was apparently the weakest of the whole family; and as Afrasiab was still on the field, and retained his claim to the sceptre of Iran, a bold and skilful warrior could alone save his country from again falling under the tyranny of the enraged barbarian. Kai Kobad was elected to wield the arms and resources of Persia. Placing the famous Roostum at the head of his troops, he gained a decisive victory over the Tartar chief; confirmed his own seat on the throne; and gave a beginning to that celebrated line of princes which is commemorated in history as the Kaianian or second series of Persian monarchs. The dynasty of Kaiomars, which terminated in Gershasp, is said to have ruled over Persia two thousand four hundred and fifty years; though, in the course of that long period, only twelve kings are mentioned by name, whose actions and characters are shadowed forth to us either through the medium of poetry, or of a wild and romantic superstition.

The limits to which I am restricted by the plan pursued in these volumes, do not admit of a more extended view of the ancient history of Iran. In the outline which has now been exhibited, we behold the mere rudiments of social life; the imperfect beginnings of art, religion, government, and law; the ignorance which receives any impression as to the belief of supernatural beings and influences; the age of magicians and demons on the one hand, and of poetry and heroes on the other. There is no

* History of Persia, vol. i. p. 30.

chronology to guide our calculations of distance and succession in point of time; no boundaries or landmarks to determine the extent of territory, the march of armies, and the locality of battles; no records to fix the commencement of reigns or the length of their duration. We have only a few facts distorted and exaggerated in the highest degree; men raised to the rank of gods, or covered with the guilt and malignity of devils; exploits which are not less beyond the reach of human power than of rational belief; and eras which set at defiance every hypothesis which can be devised to reconcile them to the experience of mankind or the truth of history.

Sir William Drummond, indeed, makes a very ingenious attempt to discover the date at which Gemshid ascended the throne; which, though not altogether free from objection, possesses a strong claim upon our notice. According to a passage in the Dabistan it would appear that in the time of the first Mahabad, the equinoctial colure moved from Taurus into the constellation Aries. In reckoning the motion of the stars in longitude since that period, and in referring to the real zodiac, which alone the ancient Iranians could have had in contemplation, we must calculate that the retrogression now mentioned, took place about 2500 years before the Christian era, and about 628, or more correctly, perhaps, 685 after the deluge, according to the chronology of the Seventy. If then Mahabad mounted the throne about 2525 years before Christ; if twenty monarchs reigned before Gemshid; and if we adopt what seems to have been the calculation of the old Iranians, and allow only 30 years at an average for each reign, we shall find that Gemshid began his government about 1925 before the advent of our Saviour.*

* Origines, vol. i. p. 357—375.

Ferdusi in the Shah Maneh, or Chronicle of the Kings, assigns seven hundred years to the reign of Gemshid. This, says the author of the Origines, is not a mere poetical exaggeration. Mirkhond, the most celebrated of Persian historians, informs us, that Gemshid lived a thousand years, according to some, and reigned seven hundred years according to others. The time of this monarch is stated at six hundred years in certain Persian works consulted by M. Anquetil du Perron; and M. D'Ohson, on other authorities, reduces the period to three hundred and fifty years. Again, according to all the Persian historians, with the exception of Mohsin, Gemshid divided his subjects into four classes. The arts and sciences, too, first began to flourish during his reign. It was this prince who instructed his people in their religious duties. In short, every institution ascribed by Mohsin to Mahabad and his successors, is attributed by other writers to Gemshid. But as this monarch is generally stated to have reigned six or seven hundred years, may it not be reasonably inferred that the account of his reign includes those of all his predecessors likewise? The regular calculation would give six hundred and sixty years for the reigns of the twenty kings who preceded him; but the Persians seem to have reckoned a revolution of the planet Saturn, or, in round numbers, thirty years, for each reign; and this calculation reduces the period to six hundred years. Sir William, therefore, concludes that the reign of Gemshid, estimated at between six and seven hundred years, indicates the period during which the Iranian monarchy had existed, previous to the era when Persia was conquered by Ninus, and when that great kingdom became a province of the Assyrian empire.

Gemshid, he reminds us, is said to have instituted a festival to commemorate the period at which the year began on the

day that the entrance of the sun into the constellation of Aries coincided with the vernal equinox. But we must go back nearly twenty-five centuries before the Christian era, to find the epoch when, according to the actual state of the heavens, the day of the vernal equinox was the same as that on which the sun receded from the sign of Taurus into that of Aries. This coincidence, he observes, could not take place in the time of Gemshid himself, unless we suppose that he flourished twenty-five centuries before our Faith; and we cannot, says he, fix so remote a period for his reign, without interfering with that system of chronology, on which alone, for those distant ages, we can rest any dependence. In short, according to Sir William Drummond, we must believe that the history of the reign of Gemshid was originally intended as an abridgment of the history of the reigns of all his predecessors.*

It naturally occurs as a strong objection to the deductions just stated, that they all rest upon an hypothesis which has no other support than the ingenuity of the author, joined to the probability which they derive from their apparent coincidence with other well-established facts. The religionists who are mentioned in the Dabistan, he acknowledges, reckoned time according to a scale which seems to have admitted two units or radical numbers as the basis of all their computations.† Of these the one was called *kirsal*, the other *phirsal*. By the former they understood the period in which a planet revolves round the sun; while the latter, which was composed of *phir*, splendour, and *sal*, a year, denoted the time in which a planet performed three hundred and sixty such revolutions. Thus the *kirsal* of Saturn, being reckoned in round num-

* Origines, vol. i. p. 379. † Dabistan, book i. chap. 1.

bers at thirty solar years, was equal to one day of the *phirsal;* which, again, was equal to 10,800 solar years. The compiler of the Dabistan informs us that the revolution of Saturn is one day; that thirty such days make one month; twelve such months one year; 1,000,000 of such years one *ferd;* 1,000,000 *ferds* one *werd;* 1,000,000 *werds* one *merd;* 1,000,000 *merds* one *jad;* 3000 *jads* one *wad;* 2000 *wads* one *zad;* and that, according to this reckoning, the Mahabadian dynasty lasted a hundred zads of years.*

The length of time expressed by these numbers exceeds all comprehension, and carries back the origin of the human race to an epoch which seems to mix with the shades of eternity. It is, no doubt, very probable that the sacerdotal class in Persia, like their brethren elsewhere, had esoteric as well as exoteric doctrines on most subjects, and particularly on the history of the world, the rise of civil government, and the first establishment of their religious rites. That there was a key to their various mysteries, and even to the chronological enigmas which I have just copied, may be presumed from the practice of the pagan hierophants in all similar cases. But that instrument of knowledge is lost; and hence, however much we may be disposed to confine their extravagant calculations within the limits of probability, it is clear that we must proceed to the task on merely hypothetical grounds. To conclude, therefore, with Sir William Drummond, that the ancient Peschdadians meant to assign to the several reigns of their Mahabadian sovereigns and priests, a single revolution of Saturn, or thirty solar years, is a conjecture altogether

* Origines, vol. i. p. 354. History of Persia, vol. i. p. 182—190.

unsupported by the plain and literal meaning of the record on which it is founded.

For these reasons it is perfectly obvious that, in endeavouring to fix the chronology of the Peschdadian kings, and the beginning of the Iranian empire, as it has been hitherto known to history, we must employ, in our computation, elements very different from those which are supplied by Mohsin the Perishable. It should seem, then, from a careful review of all the notices which are scattered over the surface of tradition, as well as in the ancient chronicles which the barbarism of time has left still undefaced, that the monarchy founded by Kaiomars in the lower Asia, corresponds to that which appears to have existed at Babylon, some centuries before the conquest of Ninus, and the subsequent establishment of the proper Assyrian empire. There is a striking resemblance between the Babylonian history at that early period, and the events which seem shadowed forth to us in the annals of Iran at the same remote epoch. The change of dynasty after the fourth succession; the inroad and temporary conquest of the Arabians; and the restoration of the regal line in a native family, are coincidences which at once confirm the general truth of the chronology adopted in these volumes, and create a strong presumption in favour of the opinion that the people of Babylon and Fars originally acknowledged one political head.

To the reader of ancient history nothing can appear more manifest, than that more than twenty centuries before our era, an extensive monarchy began to exist in western Asia; which, according to the national partialities or the different sources of information peculiar to the several authors who have written concerning it, has been denominated the Iranian, the Assyrian, and also the Scythian

empire. We might even regard as a proof of this fact the incoherent statement of Justin, who, as has been already mentioned, assigns to the Scythian empire in Asia the long term of fifteen hundred years. It is true, that he falls into a great mistake when he asserts that Ninus not only put an end to this domination, but also founded a dynasty which continued to govern Assyria thirteen centuries longer; because he thereby stretches out the duration of the great western monarchy to such an extent as is absolutely inconsistent with the most comprehensive system of chronology that has yet been proposed by any European writer. In a word, Justin, who, it is well known, acted the part only of an abbreviator, has understood his original so ill, that, by confounding together two kings of the same name, he has counted twice over the years of the Assyrian monarchy. His authority, therefore, is of no value, except in so far as it tends to confirm the evidence, derived from other quarters, in support of the fact, that there existed, from a very remote period, in the west of Asia, a powerful kingdom, embracing a great number of provinces; and which has, in the works of different authors, been described under different names.

It follows from these views that the first members of the Peschdadian dynasty must either have been the same or contemporary with the race of Babylonian sovereigns, whose names have been preserved by Syncellus, and who are usually described as the descendants of Belus. The only difference is, that the Persian writers denominate these ancient kings *Iranian*, while the Greek historians call them *Assyrian*. Justin, perhaps, would have represented them as *Scythian*; and he might have urged in support of this appellation, that Afrasiab was a native of Turan, a kingdom in Scythia or Tartary, and that he conquered and actually possessed the throne of the Iranians. If the

Peschdadian princes were not strictly the same with those who fill the columns of Syncellus's first catalogue, we must conclude that they were provincial governors under the paramount sovereign of the empire. But it is more probable that they were the same; and hence that the monarchy which, by authors who lived westward of the Euphrates, was called Assyrian, was, by those who dwelt eastward of that river, denominated Iranian. The pride of the Persians, in short, has induced them to conceal that their country was ever in a state of subjection to the monarchs of Assyria; and even while they admit that, in the person of Zohak, a stranger overran and oppressed their native land, they strive, at the same time, to convey the consolatory assurance, that he derived his lineage from the blood of their legitimate kings.

The names of the sovereigns, indeed, as given by Syncellus and Ferdusi respectively, bear hardly any resemblance; but this circumstance which, in most cases, would be decisive of such a question, is here of no weight whatever. The titles and appellations of eastern rulers varied so often, and upon such slight occasions, that the reader of their history has the utmost trouble in identifying their characters, and in distinguishing their actions. Even the brief narrative contained in the Bible, when compared with the contemporary annals of Persia, as given by any profane author, will illustrate these remarks. In our researches into oriental history, therefore, we must allow ourselves to be directed by *facts*, by certain great events which stand forth like landmarks in the field, and not by the names of princes, which are found to vary not only in different provinces, but even in the same province, several times in the course of a single reign.*

* Sir John Malcolm, alluding to the different names given to the same

In connection with the opinion, that the Persian and Assyrian dynasties consisted of the same individuals, I may observe, that the authors of the *Lebtarikh*, and of the *Tarik Montekheb*, as well as Mirkhond and Khondemir, make Zohak contemporary with Abraham; "furnishing," as Dr Hales remarks, "a valuable chronological character, corresponding to *Sacred Chronology*, which represents Abraham's birth B.C. 2153, and his death B.C. 1978, two years after Zohak's death."* But the learned author of the New Analysis did not avail himself to the full extent of the important hint which was here supplied to him; for, instead of recognizing in Zokah a conqueror who, about the era of the patriarch, is supposed to have reduced Babylonia and Pars under the Assyrian crown, he maintains that the imperial power still continued in the hands of Iranian princes for more than three centuries afterwards. The Persians themselves acknowledge that their country was about a thousand years under a foreign rule; in other words, that the province from which they derive their name, was held so long in a state of vassalage by the sovereign of a neighbouring empire: and it is generally agreed, that the term now specified must have begun at no great distance from the dethronement of Gemshid, and the usurpation of his tyrannical successor.

The opinion entertained by the author of the Origines,

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king by Herodotus and Ferdusi, remarks, that such discrepancy is of no consequence. "Kings of Persia had, no doubt, in ancient as in modern times, several names or rather appellations that have been used indiscriminately during their life, and after their death; and when we add to this fact the corruption of the various languages through which their history has passed before it reached us, we cannot be surprised at our almost never meeting with an agreement on this point between Grecian and Persian historians. The correspondent facts in these histories are the only lights we can expect to guide us with tolerable safety through this dark and intricate period."—*History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 216.

* New Analysis of Chronology, vol. iii. p. 37.

that the thousand years assigned to the reign of Zohak must have been intended to denote the period of Assyrian rule, coincides exactly with a conclusion stated by Sir John Malcolm in his History of Persia.* Proceeding on this supposition, the latter writer thinks it not unreasonable to infer, that the king called Feridoon or Pheridûn by the Persian poet, must have been the Arbaces of the Greek historians. This position he endeavours to establish by some remarkable points of agreement in the characters and fortunes of the two sovereigns. "Arbaces, the Mede," says he, "was induced, by the contemptible character of Sardanapalus, to attack Nineveh; and we are told by Ferdusi, that Nineveh was the very city which Pheridûn reduced when he took prisoner the ferocious Zohak. Another Persian author," he adds, "confirms this account, and gives the name of the real capital; stating that the Assyrian monarch sometimes resided at it, and sometimes at Babylon. Moses of Chorene calls this king Vorbaces; and the history he gives of his youth accords in some degree with that given of Pheridûn by the Persian poet; but the strong fact of his having freed his countrymen from the Assyrian yoke is that on which the conclusion of Arbaces and Pheridûn being the same person must ultimately rest."†

Sir John in like manner attempts to prove, that Kai Kobad, the first of the Kaianian dynasty, was the Dejoces of the Greeks. The latter was elected king, on account of his reputation for wisdom and justice, when his country was in a state of great weakness and anarchy: Kai Kobad was raised to the throne in similar circumstances. But as such events were of frequent occurrence, the reader, it

* History of Persia, vol. i. p. 210. † History of Persia, vol. i. p. 211.

may be presumed, will expect other proofs of identity before he admit the cogency of any argument which is founded on a resemblance so extremely remote and casual.

Sir John is likewise of opinion, that the history of Kai Kaoos, as given in the pages of Ferdusi, is a description of the reigns of Cyaxares and Astyages; and here, it must be acknowledged, there occurs a very remarkable coincidence in point of fact, which seems to give some countenance to the conclusion now stated. Herodotus relates, that the former of these kings made war upon the Lydians, and extended his dominions westward as far as the river Halys. He likewise informs us, that, in the midst of a battle between the Medes and Lydians, a total eclipse of the sun took place, as had been foretold by Thales the Milesian. Cyaxares afterwards, according to this author, attacked Nineveh to revenge the death of his father; but was recalled from this enterprise to deliver his own country from an inroad of the Scythians.

Now we are told by the Persian poet, that, during an expedition which Kai Kaoos made into the province of Mazenderan, a battle took place, in the course of which the prince and his army were struck with a sudden blindness, which had been predicted by a magician. "This evidently appears to be the eclipse predicted by Thales. Ferdusi, it is true, informs us, that the event led to Kai Kaoos and his followers being made prisoners; but this is a mere poetical fiction invented to introduce the wonderful achievements of his hero Roostum; who, by the efforts of his single arm, is made to subdue a number of demons, and the whole of the army which had defeated his sovereign; whom he not only releases, but enables to conquer the country he invaded: and the result of the war, which extended the empire in the direction of the Halys, is in

perfect agreement with the success of Cyaxares, as described by Herodotus."*

These suggestions are certainly not undeserving of attention on the part of the historical reader. But it must be obvious, at the same time, that the several coincidences mentioned by the historian of Persia are much too slight to bear any general inference, respecting the order and duration of the successive dynasties which swayed the sceptre of the Assyrian or Iranian monarchy. For example, there is not the most distant resemblance between the characters of Zohak and Sardanapalus, if viewed in relation to their personal qualities; nor even, if we regard the former as the representative of a long line of kings, can we find, in his ambitious and sanguinary career, any thing at all similar to the pacific, luxurious, and effeminate habits which distinguished the successors of Ninus on the throne of Nineveh. Besides, the thousand years attributed to Zohak will not quadrate either with the term during which the Assyrian monarchs governed Persia as a province of their extensive empire, or with the era of Abraham, in which they are supposed to have conquered that country; for if to B.C. 747,—the date fixed on by Sir John Malcolm and Sir William Drummond for the accession of Arbaces, —we add the long reign or dynasty of Zohak, the beginning of the millennium will ascend no higher than B.C. 1747, being more than six centuries later than the birth of the patriarch. It has been already mentioned that the most enlightened of the Persian historians agree in placing the administration of Zohak in the days of the son of Terah; whose nativity cannot, in accordance with any system of chronology, be brought farther down than towards

* History of Persia, vol. i. p. 219.

the end of the eleventh century after the flood. For these reasons, it is impossible to have an unbounded confidence in the accuracy of the deductions which Sir John wishes to establish, although recommended by his learned research, as well as by the ingenious criticism of the author of the Origines, who has, in the main, adopted his views.

That the Assyrian and Iranian monarchies, at the remote period in question, were one and the same, there is very little reason to doubt; and so far I cordially agree with the two learned writers to whom I have just alluded. Their notions on this point are at once more probable in themselves, and better confirmed by argument than those of Newton, Hales, and Faber; but when they enter into particulars, and attempt to reconcile the fictions of poetry with the sober facts of historical truth, they inflict an injury upon their own judgments, as well as upon the cause of sound archæological investigation. The historian of Persia should have recollected, that if Mirkhond assigns a thousand years to Zohak, Ferdusi grants the same term of power to Pheridûn; whence it is manifest that, if in the former case, the reign of a single prince is to be held synonimous with the duration of a dynasty, we must also, in the latter case, adopt the same principle of interpretation, and conclude that the successor of Zohak represents, in history, all the sovereigns who governed the kingdom after him, during the course of a whole millennium. In short, we ought to follow Ctesias rather than Ferdusi; the chronicler rather than the poet; him who copied a register under the eye of the Persian king, nearly four centuries before the birth of Christ, rather than him who, fourteen hundred years afterwards, indulged his fancy in magnifying the exploits of sovereigns, of whom he could at that time learn little more than the names.

Mr Faber, adopting the computation of Newton, places

the accession of Kaiomars, or Caiumuras, as he writes the name, in the year B.C. 811; that is, according to his calculation, about ten years after Arbaces the Mede had usurped the government of Assyria. Sir Isaac, it is well known, confining his estimate to the kings whose names are given by the Persian historians, and measuring the length of their reigns by a standard which he himself had formed, could not carry the origin of their monarchy to a higher date than the year 790 before the advent of the Redeemer. The author of the laborious work on Pagan Idolatry, by adding a little to the scale of reigns, extends the period, as has just been remarked, to the year B.C. 811; at which time, he thinks, the Peschdadian dynasty first mounted the throne, on which, after eleven of them had occupied it in succession, they were followed by nine sovereigns of the Kaianian race. "We have," says he, "eleven Pishdadians and nine Caianians; and the joint duration of their reigns is to be calculated retrospectively from the year B.C. 331, which is a known chronological epoch. Let us take the round number of 23 years as the average length of our twenty Persian reigns; and, at that rate, calculate them backward from the murder of Dara or Darius in the year B.C. 331. Such an operation will give, as their joint amount, the sum of 460 years; and, consequently, those 460 added to 331 years will give us the year B.C. 791, as the commencement of the Peschdadian dynasty with Caiumuras. Hence it appears, that if we adopt the arrangement of Ctesias, the independent monarchy of Persia will have arisen about thirty years after the independent monarchy of Media; and *thus*, agreeably to the declaration of Herodotus, that the Medes *led the way* in the revolt from the Assyrian empire, and that their example was soon *followed* by the other provinces: but, as it is not impossible that 23 years may have been too short

an average, the insurrection of Persia probably followed the insurrection of Media after a smaller interval than thirty years. An average, for instance, of 24 years to a reign, would place the accession of Caiumuras in the year B.C. 811, and thus allow only ten years between that event and the previous accession of the Median Arbaces."*

The principal objection to this scheme arises from the entire absence of all authority for it in the works of Persian historians and chronologists. In the writings of Mirkhond, Ferdusi, and Khondemir, the oldest member of the Peschdadian dynasty is always spoken of as having belonged to one of the earliest generations of the human race; as being not only the father of their most ancient kings, but also one of the first progenitors of the Iranian people. "He is allowed," says Dr Hales, "by all the oriental writers, to have been the first king, and of the earliest antiquity. Budhari, and the greatest part of the Arabian historians, reckoned him also the first man or Adam. But the most judicious of the Persian writers describe him as having been the son or descendant of Aram, the son of Shem, the son of Noah, who reigned in the countries which were first planted after the Flood."† Making due allowance for the exaggeration of Asiatic chroniclers, there still remains the best reason to conclude that the era of Kaiomars must have extended upwards far beyond the insurrection of Arbaces the Mede. It is, I repeat, very probable, however deficient may be the testimony upon which our belief is compelled to rest, that the earlier princes of the Peschdadian dynasty governed a small independent state near the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates, before the rise of that Assyrian conqueror who, by his powerful

* Origin of Pagan Idolatry, vol. iii. p. 388, 389.
† New Analysis of Chronology, vol. iii. p. 29, 30.

arms, succeeded in placing under one crown the inheritance of Elam, of Ashur, and of Nimrod. Were we, on the other hand, to adopt the scheme of Mr Faber, and bring down the era of that dynasty a thousand or twelve hundred years lower, we should thereby deprive ourselves of the support of the best Persian writers, who make Zohak a contemporary of Abraham, and Kaiomars a descendant of Noah in the fourth generation.

Again, there is no trace in history of those twenty Persian kings who are supposed to have ruled between the time of Arbaces and that of Alexander the Great. We nowhere read of such monarchs as Kaiomars, Gemshid, and Zohak, administering the government and leading the armies of a mighty kingdom on the borders of the Assyrian empire, at the very epoch when Pul, Shalmaneser, and Sennacherib, were pursuing their conquests in the neighbouring nations. The existence of two such dynasties at the same time is extremely improbable; and when we call to mind, that Media, at the period in question, was in the hands of the Assyrian rulers just named, we shall see still stronger reasons to conclude that there was then no distinct independent government among the Persians. I have elsewhere used some arguments to prove that the revolution effected by Arbaces did not give birth to any political change in the administration of the Medes, but merely placed a new dynasty, probably of Median extraction, on the throne of Assyria; and that the monarchy of which Dejoces was the first head, did not begin to exist for more than a century afterwards. It is, moreover, acknowledged that the Medes led the way in setting an example of defection from the paramount government; but we find that, in the reigns of Pul, Tiglathpileser, and Shalmaneser, Media still continued to be in subjection to the Assyrians; whence we may confidently

infer, that as yet no independent crown was worn by any Persian ruler.

It is, however, in the very period which elapsed between Arbaces and Dejoces, being, according to Mr Faber, about 120 years, that the Peschdadian dynasty must be placed, if brought down at all from the more ancient times assigned to it by the Persian writers. But we have just found that, during the interval in question, the Assyrian empire was more powerful, or at least more active, than it had been for many centuries before the revolution under Arbaces; on which account we cannot admit that Persia was at that very moment laying the foundations of a warlike monarchy under Kaiomars, Gemshid, and Zohak.

The hypothesis of Newton received likewise the countenance of Richardson and of Sir William Jones; who, perceiving that by most Persian historians the Kaianian dynasty is made to succeed immediately to the Peschdadian, and finding, at the same time, that these authors are unanimous in the opinion that the former race terminated with Darab or Darius, who fell before the arms of Alexander, naturally imagined that the surest method of discovering the beginning of the latter was to calculate backwards from the year B. C. 331; assuming a fixed number for the average length of the successive reigns. But Dr Hales, it is manifest, was right in supposing that between the two dynasties just described there was a very long interval; and hence that the grand error of the Persian historians and chronologers, and of such as adopt their views, arose from their belief that the Kaianian followed the Peschdadian, in continuity or immediate succession. This, as he observes, gave rise to the enormous reigns which they assigned to their kings in order to fill up the chasm, and thereby precluded all possibility of adjusting

them with the statements of the Greek authors. In fact, the interval now mentioned may be proved from the Persian writers themselves; for, as they fix the end of the last dynasty in the reign of Darius Codomannus, and carry up the first to a very high antiquity, giving, at the same time, the number of successive sovereigns in both dynasties, we are enabled to determine, on the general principles of longevity, the gross duration of each.

The author of the New Analysis brings down the end of the Peschdadian dynasty to the year B. C. 1661. Having dated its commencement in B. C. 2190, he, of course, limits its extent to 529 years; which being divided among eleven reigns, presents an average of forty-eight years and a small fraction. Of the kings contained in the list of this royal race, two, namely, Pheridûn and Phirouz, are said to have governed 120 years each; a period which, as it is inconsistent with history and experience, evidently requires adjustment. There are other objections to the statement of Dr Hales, which cannot but occur even to the least reflecting reader. The era itself rests upon principles which are merely arbitrary and hypothetical; having, in truth, no better foundation than a supposed resemblance between the actions of Hushang and Chedorlaomer, "who," says he, "might alike have been slain by Abraham in B. C. 2070. From this fixed epoch, counting the reigns both upwards and downwards, the dates of each are determined."* Again, that the Peschdadian dynasty ended about B. C. 1661, is inferred from the simple circumstance that Chusan Rishathaim, who made war upon the Israelites towards the close of the sixteenth century before the Nativity, appears thereby to

*. New Analysis, vol. iii. p. 29.

have been an independent prince, and entitled to enter into hostilities on his own account.*

But the greatest objection to the scheme suggested by Dr Hales, respects the necessity of introducing, from time to time, those immense intervals of nine hundred or a thousand years, which he is pleased to call interregnums. Such gaps or chasms are to be found as well in his Assyrian as in his Persian dynasties. In regard to the latter, he is chargeable at least with an abuse of language; for why should the word *interregnum* be applied to a period of ten centuries, during which the supreme power had passed entirely away from the people of Fars? In the former case, there is more than a verbal catachresis to condemn. Proceeding on the extravagant and romantic statements of Persian authors, he rejects the respectable authority of Ctesias; and, without assigning any intelligible reason, expunges twenty-four out of the thirty-six kings, whose names that antiquary had copied from the oldest records of the empire, and substitutes in their place an interregnum of nine hundred and eighty-five years.

It may appear paradoxical to assert that the authority of the Greek historians, respecting the affairs of Iran, ought to stand much higher than that of the native writers. But all surprise will cease when we recollect that Herodotus, Ctesias, Xenophon, and Diodorus Siculus, lived much nearer the time of the occurrences which they relate than Mirkhond or Ferdusi, or, indeed, than any other author whom Persia has produced. These last flourished long after the Mahomedan conquest; an event which was rendered memorable by the systematic destruction of all works and records of an earlier date, especially of such as would

* New Analysis, vol. iii. p. 46.

have preserved, among the vanquished Parsees, the recollection of their former greatness and of their ancient religion. It was impossible, indeed, to extirpate utterly all the roots of tradition and of a national faith. Some of the more precious archives, too, were probably saved from the selfish rage of Mussulman barbarism; but still, as nearly all the Persian chroniclers whose works have come down to us, wrote under the influence of a tyrannical government, amidst the greatest scarcity of materials, and at a period comparatively recent, their volumes are not worthy to be put in the scale against the labours of Herodotus, Ctesias, and Xenophon; who, to the advantage of living a thousand years sooner, added personal knowledge of the people whom they described, and the utmost freedom of recording every thing which fell within the limits of their research. Wherever, therefore, a competition of historical evidence between Greek and Persian writers has appeared, I have uniformly given a preference to the earlier authors; who, though foreigners, and sometimes placed at a distance from the scenes which they described, were more intelligent, more inquisitive, and, above all, enjoyed perfect liberty as well in their investigations, as in the mode of communicating the fruits of them to the public.

The striking diversity of opinion which prevails among the learned, in regard to the first race of Persian kings, affords a strong presumption that nothing certain or definite can now be attained either by research or by reasoning. When we find Newton, Richardson, Jones, and Faber, on one side, and Cirbied, Malcolm, Drummond, and D'Ohsson, on the other, and Dr Hales opposed to both parties, we may rest satisfied that the works whence they have derived their materials are not possessed of sufficient authority, and abound much more in fanciful description than in historical facts.

Nor is the ignorance of Persian authors confined to the remoter periods of their history. It is equally manifest in regard even to those more recent events which came to pass during the times of the Greek republics; when letters had already made some progress among these celebrated states, and the value of authentic records had begun to be duly appreciated. Did we not call to mind that the oldest of the Persian writers whose works have been preserved, are to be considered as moderns when compared with Æschylus, Herodotus, and some of the other annalists of ancient Greece, we should be tempted to suspect that all which we have read of Persian armies, of Athenian courage, and of Spartan patriotism, were a mere fiction,—a theme for the poet, and a topic of declamation for the orator.

"From every research," says the author of Dissertations on the Languages and Literature of Eastern Nations, "which I have had an opportunity to make, there seems to be nearly as much resemblance between the annals of England and Japan, as between the European and Asiatic relations of the same empire of the Medo-Persians, during the Kaianian dynasty, commencing with the Cyaxares of the Greeks, about B. C. 610, according to Sir Isaac Newton's conjecture, and ending with the Macedonian conquest. The names and numbers of the kings have no analogy; and in regard to the most splendid facts of the Greek historians, the Persians are entirely silent. We have no mention of the Great Cyrus, nor of any king of Persia, who in the events of his reign, can apparently be forced into a similitude. We have no Crœsus, king of Lydia; not a syllable of Cambyses, nor of his frantic expedition against the Ethiopians. Smerdis Magus, and the succession of Darius Hystaspes by the neighing of his horse, are to the Persians circumstances equally unknown as

the numerous assassinations recorded by the Greeks. Not a vestige is at the same time to be discovered of the famous battles of Marathon, Thermopylæ, Salamis, Platæa, and Mycale; nor of that prodigious force which Xerxes led out of the Persian empire to overwhelm the states of Greece. These famous invasions may possibly, therefore, have been simply the movements of the governors of Asia Minor to enforce a tribute which the Persians might often exact and the Greeks might never pay. Marathon, Salamis, and other celebrated battles may indeed have been real events; but the Grecian writers, to dignify their country, may have swelled the thousands of the Persian satrap into the millions of the Persian king."*

Some abatement must, no doubt, be made for national vanity and resentment on the part of the Grecian poets and historians; whose countrymen, perhaps, in the hour of alarm, magnified the hosts of their invaders, and in the hour of victory took no pains to correct their previous estimates. The heterogeneous nature of an oriental army, too, in which the number of fighting men bore but a small proportion to the mixed multitude who followed the standard of the prince, may afford some apology for the exaggerated computations of the victorious Greeks. Similar considerations will likewise induce us to modify our conclusions in regard to the heaps of slain, as well as the personal exploits of favourite heroes; but, assuredly, if we consent to pronounce the several invasions of Greece by the Persian kings a mere fable, we must, at the same time, relinquish all confidence in human testimony which is not immediately supported by divine inspiration.

* Richardson's Dissertations, p. 52—54.

In a word, the silence of Persian writers supplies no satisfactory argument against the truth of the Grecian annals. The records of a beaten army, especially when commanded by a king, are seldom remarkable for exactness, and never faithfully copied. The slavish historians of Ecbatana would not think it necessary to remind the reigning sovereign that any one of his ancestors was a fool or a coward; and the pride which lurked in the heart of a subject of the king of kings, the lord of a hundred tributary provinces, would be equally slow to acknowledge that his countless squadrons had been dispersed by the skill and valour of a little band of freemen. We may, in short, conclude, that the ignorance or insincerity which marks the page of Persian history in its latter stages, only tends to confirm still farther our suspicions in regard to the entire want of authority and information which pervades that earlier portion, which professes to fix the date and describe the occurrences of the Peschdadian dynasty.

The discovery of the Dabistan, the compilation of Mohsin Fani, has been supposed to throw great light on the ancient history of Iran. The first book of that celebrated work is now before me; but I must acknowledge, though I entered upon the perusal of it with the strongest inclination to profit by its details, I have not found in it either evidence or argument to establish the existence of four royal dynasties prior to the reign of Kaiomars. The race of the Abads, of whom Mahabad or the great Abad was the first in order as well as in rank, appears to have been sacerdotal or prophetical; the founders of a new religion rather than of a new empire; and better qualified to teach men the arts of peace, than to confirm or extend dominion among tribes of illiterate barbarians.

The first book of the Dabistan, in which is given an

account of the tenets of the Parsees, consists of fifteen chapters, the titles of which are as follows:—

Chap. 1. On the theoretical and practical tenets of the Sipâsis.
—— 2. Concerning the chief persons who have professed the Sipâsi faith.
—— 3. An explanation of the laws of the book of Abâd.
—— 4. An account of the Jamshâspis.
—— 5. An account of the Semrâdis.
—— 6. An explanation of the opinions of the Khodâis.
—— 7. An account of the Râdis.
—— 8. An account of the Shidrengis.
—— 9. An exposition of the opinions of the Peikeris.
—— 10. An account of the sect of the Milâni.
—— 11. An account of the tenets of the Alaris.
—— 12. On the sect of Shidabis.
—— 13. An account of the faith of the Akhshis.
—— 14. An account of the Zerdushtis.
—— 15. An account of the Mazdekis.

Before proceeding to make any observations on the religious and philosophical opinions which are contained in this section of the Dabistan, I shall insert a compendium of the Parsee doctrine and history, drawn up, at the request of a learned writer, by Moollah Feroz ebn Moollah Kaoos.

"The followers of Zerdusht believe that Kaiomars was the first parent, whom the Mahommedan writers denominate Abul Muluk, and class among the grandchildren of Noah, and the posterity of Adam; he is represented as the first framer of civil government.

"The Iranees, previously to the mission of Zerdusht,

venerated a prophet named Mahabad, *the great Abad*, (Boozooyabad) whom they considered as the father of men. His followers were styled Furzundazees.* The following are the principal tenets of the sect:—

"The being and attributes of God have existed eternally;† his works, therefore, must have a correspondent existence; the creature partakes of the nature of the Creator in the same manner that the light resembles the sun; and a difference can no more be supposed to exist between the production and the producer, than between the ray and the solar body from whence it emanates.

"The creation has existed from all eternity, and wil have no termination of existence; and the cause of that resembles the infinite connection which subsists between the continuous parts of number. This doctrine has been maintained and admitted by several philosophers.‡

"Some say that man was produced by man, and his creation without parents is an evident impossibility. Mahabad was the parent of the present cycle, and innumerable cycles have already existed, the end of each preceding is connected with the beginning of each succeeding cycle: a male and female remain at the end of each cycle, and become the propagators and continuous parents of the human race. The duration of each cycle is thus ascertained.

"The stars are divided into the fixed stars and the planets.

"Each star is the ruler of some thousands of years. One

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* Fursundaj or Fursundujean.

† Uzubool azal, eternity without beginning; ubdoolabad, eternity without end.

‡ *Tusool-sool*, implies infinite in duration, but not infinite in commencement; for example, conceive a line commencing at A, and infinitely extended in one direction A.

thousand years are appropriated to each star as the period of its revolution unaccompanied by the other stars.

"The cycles of stars commenced among the fixed stars: the star which first revolved alone for the period of 1000 years is denominated the first king, (*Nekhoosteen Shah*), after the expiration of 1000 years it was accompanied, for a similar period, by another star that is called the Dustoor (Weezer) of the first king; and these revolutions of 1000 years continue throughout all the heavenly bodies; the moon is the last that revolves for the above period. The completion of these several revolutions is considered as a great cycle.

"The Weezer of the first king of the first cycle becomes the first king of the second cycle, and the former occupies the place of the moon; each star becomes in its turn Nekhoosteen Shah until the first star resumes his rank. The revolutions are thus continued *ad infinitum*. A male and female remain after each cycle, and continue the race of mankind, having the same exterior appearance, language, and customs. The dead of one cycle are not reanimated, but a new creation of a similar species is produced.

Mahabad is the father of the present cycle, and being blessed with a numerous progeny, with the aid of grace, and under the governance of wisdom, established a code of civil and religious institutions, and received from the Almighty the book called the Dusateer,* relating to reli-

* This book consists of a text and commentary, and translation. The text is an old and most difficult language, to which there is no name, of which Moollah Feroz says he cannot understand above one half. The subject is the creation of the world, the religion of Mahabad, prayer and history. The writers are Mahabad and his successors down to Zerdusht. They believe the work to be from heaven. The translation is by Sassan the fifth, one of the chief Dustoors (Weezers Kan) in the reign of Khoosroo Purvez. The Dussateer was found by Moollah Feroz at Isfahan, in a Mussulman's house.

gion, the different sciences and languages. Mahabad circulated this book in his vernacular language, and all prophets that succeeded him adhered to his doctrines.

"There were thirteen rulers of the family of Mahabad who did not deviate from his institutions. Abad-Arad, the fourteenth in succession from Mahabad, forsook the society of men, and gave himself up to solitary devotion.

"The world enjoyed uninterrupted peace and prosperity during the reign of these princes.

"The greatest confusion resulted from the abdication of Abad-Arad; mankind neglected the laws of Mahabad, and committed every species of vice and atrocity.

"The Fursundajees, or followers of Mahabad, assert that the dynasty of the Mahabadees continued for 100 zads. The following is the amount of a zad: 1,000,000 years, or, according to the Hindoo computation, 10 lacks of years, are one furd, and 1000 furds are one durd, and 1000 durds are one murd, and 1000 murds are one jad, and 1000 jads are one zad. In conformity with this mode of reckoning, the family of Mahabad had possessed the supreme authority uninterruptedly for 100 zads, when Abad-Arad abdicated the government. The dreadful consequences of this step have been already related. A few of the followers of Mahabad, who remained untainted with the general depravity, entreated Jey-Affram, who then resided in obscurity, and was entirely devoted to religion, to take the administration of the public affairs into his hands. He refused compliance with their request, until it was sanctioned and corroborated by an immediate communication from heaven.

"Jey-Affram, by his wisdom and exertion, re-established the laws of Mahabad, and restored peace and happiness to mankind. His successors imitated his conduct, and are distinguished by the name of Jeyan, in the same manner

that the princes of the former dynasty were called Abadees from Mahabad, their great ancestor. The word *Jey* signifies *pure* in the Pehleveh dialect. Jey-Abad was the last prince of this family, which subsisted for one uspar of years: 100,000 years are called, according to their computation, one silam, 100 silams are one simar, 100 simars are one uspar, 100 uspars are one iradee, 100 iradees are one raz, 100 razes are one azar, and 100 arazes are one beazer.

"At the expiration of the above period of one simar, Jey-Abad, the reigning sovereign, left his chamber one night, unperceived by any of his attendants, and was never afterwards heard of. Great disorders and public mifortunes resulted from his sudden disappearance, until Shah Keeleev his son, who was celebrated for his virtue and piety, was prevailed upon to assume the supreme authority. The exertion of his justice and discretion checked the further progress of decay, and extended the blessings of plenty and civilized government to all mankind. Mahbul was the last sovereign of this family, which lasted for one simar.

"Shah Mahbul was compelled, by the increasing depravity of mankind, to abdicate his throne, and seek for that tranquillity in retirement which a corrupt world could not afford. The positive commands of Heaven, vouchsafed through the agency of the angel Gabriel, compelled Yasan, the eldest and wisest of the sons of Mahbul, to undertake the duties vacated by his father; and his endeavours for the restoration of religion and order were attended with complete success.

"Yasan Ajam was the last sovereign of this race, which continued for the period of one silam.*

* The name of Persia is Ajum.

"The wickedness of mankind at this time drew down upon them the vengeance of God, who rendered their mutual hostility the instrument of dreadful destruction and unparalleled punishment to the species.* The few who remained were immersed in barbarism, and resided on the tops of mountains, and in the gloomy recesses of caverns. In this situation,† Gilshah, the son‡ of Yasan, was called by the Almighty to the throne.

"This prince is called Kaiomars by the followers of Zerdusht, and is considered as the first parent of mankind. Mahomedan writers have given him the title of Ubul-Muluk, or the father of kings. Gilshah announced his divine mission to mankind, exerted himself for the re-establishment of the ancient laws and religion, and re-assembled the several members of his family, who had been dispersed throughout the earth during the time of his seclusion from the society of men. The good effects of his assumption of the supreme power were displayed in the restoration of virtue, and in the communication of the blessings of civilization to those who submitted to his authority.

"It is to be observed, that, although Jey-Affram has been called the son of Abad-Arad, several princes intervened between them. The denomination of son has allusion, therefore, not to relationship by blood, but to the kindred nature of their dispositions and public conduct: the same remark applies to Jey-Abad and Keeleev, to Mahbul, and Yasan, and Gilshah.

"Gilshah, or Kaiomars, after he had established himself

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* They have no deluge.

† So called from the depopulated state of the earth; literally, king of the soil.

‡ He was only called so because he reigned in his place.

on the throne, employed his own relations, and some other individuals who had not departed from the laws of their ancestors, in arranging the public affairs. A remnant of the wicked and ungodly still resisted his repeated commands, and preferred a savage life among mountains and caverns to the blessings of civilization.

"The king therefore determined to overcome their obstinacy by force. Complete success attended his army, and his enemies were compelled to submit.

"When universal peace was restored, Gilshah thought proper to invest himself with the title of Uboo-Busheer. This fact is considered as authentic by the author, and is confirmed by the authority of the Dusateer, which was translated into Persian from its original language in the reign of Khoosroo Purvez, the grandson of Nuoshirwan the Just, as well as that of the Rouzet-oo-suffa.

"The author observes, that all the fabulous accounts of the Devs, both with respect to the murder of Siamek, the son of Kaiomars, and the exploits of Roostum, in the province of Mazenderan against the Devs, who are represented with tails and manes like horses, and horns and hoofs, have reference to the savage tribes that were subdued by Kaiomars. The Devs are imaginary beings that have never existed but in the imagination of the vulgar. Men who, in the strength and cruelty of disposition, resembled them, have been figuratively classed under the same head. This supposition derives additional strength from the historical fact, which occurred in the reign of Shah Abbas, the first Sufvee. The ruler of Dizowlad, a fortress in the province of Mazenderan, was in those days called *Ul-Wund Deo*.*

* In the Tarikh, Alem Arai.

"Kaiomars was also honoured with a divine revelation, in conformity with which he re-established the religion of Mahabad. Siamek, Hoosheng, Symourus, Gemsheed, Faredun, Manocheher, Kia Khusroo, Zerdusht, Azursasan, the first and fifth succeeded him in the priesthood and sovereignty, and were respectively favoured with communications from heaven, in corroboration of the tenets of Mahabad, in which none, except Zerdusht, made any innovations. The Abadees, however, do not consider Zerdusht as having designed any opposition to the laws of Mahabad, but, on the contrary, to have enforced and explained them by figurative allusions. They accordingly style him the enigmatical prophet.

"The descendants of Gilshah are divided into four *tribes* (races): the Peeshdadees, the Keeanees, the Ash-kanees, and the Sasanees, and the duration of their several dynasties, amounted to 6024 years and five months, more or less; the last king of this family was Yezdejird, the son of Shahriar, the son of Khoosroo Purvez. During this reign the Arabs conquered his kingdom, and established the faith of Islam. It will be now necessary to advert to the birth of Zerdusht, the promulgation of his doctrines, and the extirpation of his followers.

"Zerdusht was born in the city of Ree, on Monday, the sixth day of the month of Furwardeen, 2175 years after the deluge of Noah;* and although the flood of Noah happened on the 14th of Oordebehisht, or 44 days from the commencement of a new year, according to the above computation, the event is supposed to have taken place on the first day of the month Furwardeen, that is to say, the beginning of the Persian year. Many singular events and

* This date was taken from a Mahomedan record. The Parsees do not believe in the Deluge.

miracles attended the begetting, the conception, the birth, the prophetic mission, and the decease of this illustrious personage, and are recorded at large in the holy books of his followers. It is there related that he spoke while in his mother's womb, and, contrary to all other children, was born with a smile on his countenance. Douransuroon, prince of Ree, who was a worshipper of idols, and a skilful magician, having heard from certain soothsayers that a child was about to be born, who would overthrow idolatry, and restore the true religion, determined to destroy the child, and summoned an assembly of magicians and soothsayers in order to devise the best means of effecting that object. When he received intelligence of the birth of Zerdusht, and of his smiling, he hastened to the house of his parents, and endeavoured to stab the infant with a dagger; but the power of God opposed him; his hand fell motionless at his side, and fear and trembling overcame, for the time, his physical and mental powers. He next commanded some persons to steal the child and cast it into a blazing fire. They succeeded in carrying the infant off, but when, in obedience to the orders of the prince, they cast the child into the fire, the sparks were changed into flowers of all descriptions. The infant Zerdusht escaped in the same miraculous manner from the dens of wild beasts, into which he was repeatedly thrown by this wicked tyrant.

"When this eminent prophet had reached the age of 40 years, he was conveyed by the angel Bahmun, called by the same philosophers the First Reason, up to heaven, and received orders from the Almighty to announce his divine mission to mankind. Zerdusht, accordingly, proceeded to the presence of king Goosh, who, after hearing the disputations between him and the wise men of the court, and beholding the miracles he wrought, admitted the

justice of his claims, and became a convert to the true religion, which the enemies of Zerdusht have stigmatized with the name of the worship of fire. The king, moreover, sent his son Isfendiar to promulgate the doctrines of Zerdusht throughout all the cities of his empire, and to compel the refractory by force of arms. This was the religion of India, of Greece, and Turan, until the reign of Yesdecjird, the son of S ı iar, a period of 1041 years. In the reign of this monarch the empire passed into the hands of the Arabs; some of the followers of Zerdusht allowed themselves to be convinced by the arguments of the swords and bloody daggers of the Arabs, and became Mahometans; others obtained permission to retain their religion on the condition of paying tributes to the conquerors; the remainder, considering any compromise on such a subject disgraceful, relinquished their country and fled to Hindoostan.

"The following account of the emigration of the Parsees to Guzerat, is extracted from a work entitled Qissu Sunjam, composed in the year 969 of the era of Yezdejird, by Bahmun, a learned divine, who lived at Neeosaree, in the province of Ahmedabad.

"When Yezdejird had been driven from the throne, some holy men of the religion of Zerdusht retired into the mountains and inaccessible places, in expectation that some favourable change would occur in the affairs of Persia. Being disappointed in this hope, and their situation having become untenable from the conquests of their enemies, they retired, after a residence of 100 years in the mountains, to the island of Ormuz, where a town had been established by Urdesheer Bakhan. They were, however, after the expiration of 15 years, compelled to leave this asylum, and proceeded to India. The first place where these emigrants landed was Bunder Deep, called

Diw; from whence, after 19 years, they went to Guzerat, and settled at Lunjan, which was at that time a large city, and the residence of a powerful rajah. It is about 50 coss from Bunder Soorut, and is at present an insignificant village.

"The rajah at first received the accounts of the arrival of the Persians with suspicion; but upon farther inquiry compassionated their misfortunes, and granted them permission to settle in his territories. They remained in the dominions of this prince 300 years, when they were obliged, by the increase of population, to migrate into the countries of Bankaneer, Bureyas, Broach, Oakleseer, Kumbayut, Nuosaree, and other adjacent towns and villages.

"Sultan Mahmood Bigerah, one of the most illustrious princes of Guzerat, who ascended the throne in the year of the Hegira 763, and reigned nearly fifty years, invading Sunjan, with a view of effecting the conquest of the country. The Persians who remained at Sunjan so effectually aided the rajah, that he defeated the sultan's army.

"The Guzeratees proved more successful in a second attack, and, in revenge for the assistance afforded to the rajah by the Zerdushtees, used every effort to exterminate the tribe. No species of cruelty or persecution was left untried by these savage conquerors. The unfortunate Persians, being reduced to despair, escaped under covert of the night in the disguise of Hindus; and as the persecution still continued, they mixed themselves with the lowest casts of Hindus, and followed the occupations of fishermen and sellers of wine. In this state they remained so long, that they utterly abandoned their religion and customs, and were not to be distinguished from the vilest Hindus. At length a Zerdushtee, whose

name was Changah, the son of Asa, having acquired great wealth and power, collected the scattered members of his tribe from amidst the Hindoos, and exerted himself in restoring the religion and customs of their ancestors. Such, however, was the universal ignorance of the Zerdushtees who remained in India, that they were obliged to send to the priest of their sect, resident in Persia, for religious instructions, and according to the answers, the principles and ceremonies of the religion of Zerdusht were re-established in India."

I make no apology for inserting the above tract unabridged, and in the language of the first translator, because it gives a very distinct view of the opinions entertained by the modern Parsees relative to the ancient history of their country, and also in regard to the origin of the several dogmas and superstitious usages which have marked amongst them the progress of religious belief.* The Dabistan itself, upon which Moollah Feroz appears to have had his eye fixed throughout, is composed in a style so scholastic and obscure, that a reader, not previously acquainted with the language and habits of oriental nations, must find some difficulty in comprehending its doctrines.

The pure theism professed by the earliest inhabitants of Iran was, we find, soon corrupted by the introduction of sabaism, or the worship of the heavenly bodies,—the first aberration, in all countries, from the principles of the true faith, and the source of the grossest idolatries which subsequently darken the moral and religious his-

* This Essay by Moollah Feroz was translated by Henry Ellis, Esq. of the Madras Establishment, then in General Malcolm's suite; afterwards Envoy to Persia; subsequently third Commissioner of Lord Amherst's Chinese Embassy, and now Colonial Secretary at the Cape of Good Hope. *20th June*, 1819.—*Note affixed to the manuscript.*

tory of man. The oldest of all creeds, according to Newton, is a firm belief that one supreme God made the world by his power, and continually governs it by his providence: and hence arise a pious fear, love, and adoration, directed towards Him; a due reverence for parents and aged persons; a brotherly affection for the whole human race, and a compassionate tenderness even for the brute creation. But such a system is much too refined for the rude and ignorant condition into which all the tribes of men appear to have fallen, as soon as they were scattered abroad on the face of the earth. The notions of the Sabians paved the way for the absurd tenets of astrology, mixed with a modified belief in the metempsychosis, or passage of the soul from one body to another. The sages of the Sipâsi school, if we may place entire confidence in Mohsin Fani and Moolah Feroz, taught that the planets governed the world in succession, and that when the sovereignty had passed through them all, the course of nature was brought to a close; upon which, a new series, resembling the former, was immediately begun, which was doomed to pass through the same order and degrees, and to terminate in a similar manner. This doctrine is expressed by one of their poets as follows:—

> "Every form and figure that is now destroyed
> Is laid up in the magazine of Fate;
> When the aspect of Heaven again becomes the same,
> God again brings it out from behind its secret vail."

At the end of every revolution of the planetary reigns, when every created thing was again to become new, two human beings were left alive; from whom, as the first parents of the renovated world, the race of mankind was to spring, once more to replenish the earth and subdue it. When the sovereignty, says Mohsin, reaches *Shet*, or the

moon, the time draws to a close, the cycle is completed, and one grand period is over. And when this grand period is passed, the sovereignty returns again to the first king, and the events of the world commence anew; and this system of production and decay revolves once more. The men and animals, vegetables, and even minerals, repeat the same round of action, disposition, arrangement, and qualities, and have even the same names and distinguishing characters. It is, however, to be observed, says the author of the Dabistan, that the very same souls, such as those of Abad, Kaiomars, Siameck, and Hosheng, do not re-enter the very same earthly tabernacles which they had forsaken; or that the identical particles of their bodies which had been scattered abroad, are collected again and re-united. Such an opinion is utterly inconsistent with the doctrines of the Sipâsis. They merely expect, as far as the human race is concerned, a renovated series of material forms; for as the souls of the perfect are united to angels, they cannot again return to the earth.

But the Dabistan is more valuable on account of the philosophy which it contains, than for its religious mysteries. We may discover in it the first principles of some of those systems which, at a later period, employed the ingenuity of the Greeks; and which, in a form somewhat altered, have descended even to our own times. In the eleventh chapter, which gives an account of the Jemshaspians, or "Seers of Unity," we have no difficulty in tracing the outline of certain Platonic doctrines, respecting the primary ideas or conceptions of things which were supposed to exist in the Divine mind, as also concerning the relations which those ideal patterns of the universe may be conceived to bear to the actual creation and forms of matter, in which they may be said to have been

realized. From the same source, it might be conjectured, proceeded the pious scepticism of the Berkeleyan school; which attempted to resolve all proofs for the existence of an external world into the mere contemplation of ideas in the intellect, and refused to acknowledge that any thing but mind existed absolutely and independently.

Jemshasp, the father of this oriental sect, was a person of austere manners and much self-denial. He did not give regular lectures on the principles of philosophy; but, like Socrates, disseminated his wisdom in the course of conversation, and took pleasure in speaking on deep subjects in an easy and familiar way. His opinions were preserved by those who frequented his company, and who afterwards formed an association to perpetuate his name and his dogmas. According to the report of his disciples, Jemshasp taught that there is no external world; that whatsoever exists, exists in God; and that out of Him, or separated from Him, there is absolutely nothing. They state farther, as a doctrine of their leader, that all intelligences, angels, souls, and spirits, the heavens, the stars, the elements, and all productions exist in His ideas, and have never entirely proceeded forth from them. "And," says Mohsin, "this science Shah Gemshid expounded unto Atibîa, and said, Know, O Atibîa, the Almighty Ized formed the first Intelligence; and, in like manner, the first Intelligence formed three things, the second Intelligence, the spirit of the highest sphere, and the body of the same heaven; and the third Intelligence, likewise, formed three things, even the elements and the things fashioned out of them. And this is," he adds, "as when we draw a town in our imagination, with palaces, gardens, and inhabitants; it has no external existence. *The being of the world is the same.*"

Similar notions appear to have been held by the Sem-

râdis, a sect who assumed their name from a term in the Persian language which signifies Understanding and Imagination. One of their masters, Fertush, taught that the elemental world was only imaginary; but admitted that the heavens, the stars, and mankind, had a real existence; meaning thereby, I presume, that the spirits which were supposed to animate the heavenly host and the bodies of men did really exist, and were something more than mere ideas in the mind of the observer. But his son Fershîd carried this dogma still farther; and denied, upon the very principles which his father propounded, that the heavens and stars themselves could have a proper or substantial existence, more than other external objects. He asserted, that they likewise, in common with all material things, were quite imaginary, and had no existence whatever independent of the ideas of him who might happen to contemplate them. At length, Ferirej, the son of Fershîd, came forward like another Hume, and pushed the opinions of his family to their full and legitimate extent. He taught that the human soul, and spirits, and even the higher order of intelligencies, did not in reality exist; that the Self-existent alone had any being, and that every thing else was imagination; all assuming an *appearance*, according to the intrinsic nature or original conceptions of the Self-existent, the prime source of all ideas.*

* In connection with this whimsical doctrine, Mohsin relates a number of practical jokes, similar to those which exposed the Pyrrhonism of the Greek philosophers, and which were employed to turn into ridicule the *idealism* of European sages, in times that have not long passed sway.

"I have seen in a book," says he, "that a Semradi married the daughter of a rich doctor of laws. As soon as the lady became acquainted with her husband's tenets, she determined to play him a trick. One day the Semradi brought home a measure of pure wine. The wife, without his knowledge, emptied the shell and filled it with water. When the time arrived for drink-

The next step was downright atheism. This result did not by any means necessarily follow, for the scepticism of Fertush, like that of Bishop Berkeley, was not only perfectly consistent with belief in a Great First Cause, but all along pre-supposing such belief as its main principle and support, was, in fact, quite untenable without it. But Mohsin assures us that the followers of Fershîd became complete infidels; maintaining that the conception of a Deity was a mere image or idea in the mind, and that the existence of a Supreme Being did not go beyond the word in which such a notion was expressed.

In one of the Iranian systems of cosmogony, too, we perceive a strong resemblance to the hypothesis of Thales, who ascribed the present phenomena of the terraqueous globe to the qualities of water, viewed both as the material and the agent employed by Divine Wisdom in its formation. Similar ideas have revived in our own days, as the characteristic tenets of a flourishing school in the department of geology. The moderns, however, disclaiming all knowledge of the first matter, and regarding such inqui-

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ing the wine, she poured out water instead of the wine into a golden cup that belonged to herself. The Semradi said, You are giving me water instead of wine? The wife answered, It is only a *fancy*: it never was wine. The Semradi replied, You said right: Give me the cup that I may *fill* it with wine in a neighbour's house. He then went out with the golden cup, which he sold, concealed the money, and filling an earthen goblet with wine, brought it to his wife. On seeing this, she exclaimed, What have you done with the cup? He answered, You only *imagined* that the cup was gold. The woman was ashamed of her joke."

"Of this sect, who hold that the world does not exist, but has only a being in the imagination, I saw many in Lahur in A.H. 1048 (A.D. 1638.) The first was Kamjoi, from whom I wrote these two couplets of Fer Iréj:

> "Know that all the world is fancy, (Semrad)
> Even if you had the dignity of the just Yezdan;
> It is from fancy, we say the name of fancy, (Semrad)
> This fancy too may be a fancy."
>
> *Dabistan*, book i. chap. v. MS.

ries as placed utterly beyond the bounds of a just philosophy, confine their attention to the evidence, which is supplied by a minute examination of facts, for the agency of water viewed merely as an instrument in arranging and consolidating the mineral structure of the earth. "Alar," says Mohsin Fani, "was a man of Iran, celebrated for his knowledge, who lived in dignity and splendour about the latter end of Zohak's reign. His doctrine was, that Ized signifies water; that from the boiling of water proceeded fire, and from fire, the heavens and the stars, as has been already detailed. From the moisture of water the air was formed, and from its coldness the earth. The author adds, that he knew several persons who belonged to this sect, when, in the year 1630, he happened to make a journey into Kashmîr."*

There is a very long chapter on the religion of Zerdusht; the value of which consists chiefly in the authentic form which is here given to opinions, already familiar to every student of Oriental antiquities. The wonders which took place at the birth, and during the infancy of this prophet, have been already alluded to by Moollah Feroz with sufficient minuteness; and although these mystical absurdities are brought forward in the Dabistan at much greater length, it is not my intention to tax the patience of the reader with any repetition of them. Nor have we time or room to lavish upon the vision vouchsafed to Zerdusht of heaven and hell; or to describe the various delights enjoyed by the good, and the dreadful sufferings endured by the impenitent. We must likewise pass over the details which respect the hundred gates through which the believing Parsees might find their way to eternal bliss; the

* Dabistan, book i. chap. xi. MS.

first of which is "faith and trust in the mission of Zerdusht." When the soul on the fourth night comes to the bridge of Chinwad, which connects the world of matter with the world of spirits, Mehr-Ized and Resh-Ized subject it to an account. If the merits exceed the demerits a single hair, they carry it to heaven; but on condition of trust in Zerdusht.*

There is in the same chapter an exposition of the doctrines of the prophet, delivered by one of his followers, which is too interesting to be entirely omitted. It is worthy of notice, that, according to Mohsin, the religion of Mahabad, or of Housheng, who appears to have reformed it, was never altogether superseded by the tenets of Zerdusht. The Azer-Sasanis, or chiefs of the Sasani race, he assures us, never followed any law but that of Mahabad, and never adopted any rules belonging to the more recent faith, except on a principle of accommodation. In no instance, says he, did they value the outward sense of the words of Zerdusht; that is, they never took his expressions in their plain literal meaning, but always regarded them as figurative and mysterious. It is maintained that the belief of the kings, especially of Dara, Darab, Bahman, Isfendiar, Gushtasp, and Lohrasp, was of this modified and secondary description.

"It is now time," observes the compiler of the Dabistan, "that we should explain a few of the mysteries and signs which relate to the Magi: for knowledge lies hid under mystery, and comes not into the possession of the man who is without intelligence, and does not fully comprehend its meaning. It is well known that they have taught that the world had two makers, Yezdan

* Dabistan, book i. chap. xiv. MS.

and Aherman. Yezdan having conceived an evil thought, that perhaps a rival may be produced to me, who may become my enemy, Aherman sprung from his thought. In many places it is related that Ized was alone, and felt solitary, and conceived an evil thought—Aherman was produced. They have said, too, that Aherman was without the world, looked through a chink and saw Yezdan, and became envious of his dignity and rank, and produced wickedness and revolt. Yezdan created the angels to be his army, and with this army warred upon Aherman. When he could not put down Aherman, they made a treaty of peace together, on the condition that Aherman should remain in the world for a fixed period. When Aherman leaves the world, the world shall enjoy unmingled felicity.

"The reverend doctor Jamasp says, It is to be known, that while the body is spoken of, the heart is understood, and Yezdan means the soul, Aherman the constitution of the earthly body, the evil thought, the prevalence of passion, and the inclination to carnal works; when it is said that Aherman excited wickedness and revolt, the words allude to this tyranny of the passions over the soul; the creating of the angels refers to the existence of virtuous qualities, the acquiring of good dispositions, and the conquest of the passions by self-mortification, for the appetites are subdued by the army of the soul: the peace signifies, that evil qualities, which are the troop of Iblis, are not far away, *i. e.* that we must abstain from excess and deficiency, and keep to the path of moderation. The continuance of Aherman in the world for an appointed time, alludes to the ascendency and superiority of the bodily passions, especially in tender years, and before maturity; indeed in all the periods of our bodily life in some bodies. The departure of Aherman from the world, signifies voluntary

death, that is, asceticism, or compulsory death, which is natural death. When the spirit becomes free, it must be endued with perfections, and proceed to its own world, which is perfect happiness.

"They hold, that Darkness besieged Light, and imprisoned it,—that the angels came to the succour of Light, and defeated Darkness. Darkness asked assistance of Aherman, who is the enemy of Light. They defeated him too, but gave him a place till the appointed death. Darkness was produced from the evil thought of Light.

"The divine doctor Jamasp says, that the explication of this tradition is the same as the last in this wise: spirit is the substance of light, and darkness the bodily appetites; the ascendency and imprisoning of it is the ascendency of appetite over that refulgent substance, as the soul is swayed by it, to the ruin of the lower world: the succour of the angels is the nourishing of faith in God, and virtue, by the exaltation of the soul from divine illumination, and the advance of the soul into the intellectual world; and the abode or residence is the continuance of appetite till natural death; the evil thought is the inclination of the soul to worldly acts.

"The chieftain Huryar, the lord of Sekanderjird, asked the writer concerning the mysteries of Yezdan and Aherman. He answered, light means existence, and darkness non-existence. Yezdan is light, that is, being; Aherman darkness or nonentity. When they say Aherman is the antagonist of Yezdan, it means, that Yezdan is being, and there is no opposite to being but nonentity.

"They say, that to create diseases, serpents, scorpions, and the like, is wicked, and is the work of Aherman. Jamasp says, diseases are like folly, stupidity, ignorance, pride; wild and ferocious beasts are like anger, lust, passion, covetousness, contempt, envy, malice, miserliness,

deceit, and the like, which are certainly not from the soul, but from the bodily constitution.

"They have taught, too, that the creator of good is an angel, the maker of evil Aherman, while God is exempt from both. The illustrious doctor Jamasp says, the angel, too, is the soul. It is the creator of good, because if it prevail over the sensual appetites, it leads man to good conversation and conduct, which is happiness. Aherman, who is Shytan, (the Devil), here signifies the sensual nature. If sense prevail over the soul, it draws it towards sensual enjoyments, so as to make it forget its country; this is wickedness, but Almighty God has given his servants free will, and is not answerable for their good or evil.

"They have said the soul committed a fault, and, from dread of the Divine displeasure, having taken to flight, descended down. Jamasp, the doctor, says, the explanation of the fault is this; that the soul, in its substance, being imperfect, its flight signifies its aversion to renouncing the ties of the body; and its flight from wrath is the fondness of the soul for governing the body till the power is lost. So far Jamasp Hakim's explanation."

But the Dabistan, it is well known, has been recommended to our attention on account of its value as an ancient historical record, much more than as a manual of Iranian belief and superstition. Sir William Jones hailed its discovery as the commencement of a new epoch in Persian antiquities. It has at once, says he, dissipated the cloud, and cast a gleam of light on the primeval history of Iran and of the human race, which could hardly have dawned from any other quarter.* But most certainly the expec-

* Sixth Discourse on the Persians, vol. iii. p. 110, octavo edit. 1807.

tations of the learned president of the Asiatic society, in regard to this work, have not been realized. The compilation of Mohsin may, indeed, have been founded upon very old and strictly authentic records; but it is so entirely destitute of those lights which are supplied by a due arrangement of geographical and chronological facts, that the reader must for ever remain doubtful as to the place which ought to be assigned to the particular dynasty of Persian kings, who were immediately favoured with the revelations of Mahabad.*

Were we, from the nature of the system itself, to form any judgment in regard to the period at which it must have been promulgated, we should unquestionably carry it upwards to those purer and more simple ages which followed the first settlement of mankind; and before the grosser kinds of idolatry had yet depraved the original impressions of religious belief in the human mind. The remembrance of the primeval creed, which comprehended the existence and worship of one God, and which is distinctly recognized in the most ancient institutions of Mahabad, strengthens the supposition that the earliest

* It is a remarkable fact, which has been incidentally referred to in a preceding note, that the Dussateer, one of the principal authorities referred to by Mohsin, was found at Ispahan subsequently to the time when the Dabistan was discovered. It is supposed to have been written by fifteen prophets, of whom the first was Mahabad, and the last Sassan. The latter, who lived in the reign of Khoosroo Purves, translated the original text into Persian, and added his own opinion and prophecies to those of his predecessors. The original is said to be an obsolete language which can now be hardly understood.

"This book is in the possession of Moollah Feroze, who informed me," says Sir John Malcolm, "that he found it when searching among some old papers at Isfahan. I made a short and hasty abstract of its contents: the nature of which tended in no small degree to remove those doubts I had entertained of its authenticity. I could not discover the slightest motive for the fabrication of such a work. It certainly merits, as an object of curiosity, a literal translation; but I fear it will be found to contain little that can be termed historical."—*History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 183.

teachers of the Iranian faith lived at an epoch not far removed from the postdiluvian patriarchs. I should, therefore, place those dynasties of priestly sovereigns, whose existence is shadowed forth in the Dabistan, in the times which elapsed between the foundation of the first kingdom in the Babylonian plain, and the establishment of the Assyrian empire by the house of Ninus.

If there be any accuracy in this conclusion, which in substance accords with that of Sir William Drummond, without being burdened with the encumbrance of his astronomical details, we may regard Zohak as the representative of the Arabian dynasty which usurped the throne of the Babylonian or Iranian king; which kept possession of the government and country during a considerable period; and one of the members of which finally assisted the prince of Assyria in subduing the several provinces contiguous to the Persian gulf, and in adding them to his extensive territories on the banks of the Tigris. The reign of Zohak is computed by different authors to have extended from three hundred to a thousand years; the former of which even is too long for a single administration in any age after the Flood. We may, therefore, conjecture with M. D'Ohsson, that several princes had reigned under the same name; and that, in the course of time, the translators from ancient chronicles must have confounded them together, and given to one king the years which, in fact, belonged to seven or eight.*

* "On remarque donc avec regret que l'ordre chronologique du Schahnamé, avant Alexandre, est tout aussi fabuleux que la plupart des faits historiques. Differents princes ont un regne de trois ou quatre siecles: il est a presumer que plusieurs de ces Schahs ont regné sous les mêmes noms, et que dans la suite des temps, les redacteurs de ces anciennes chroniques les ont tous confondu ensemble, et qu'ils ont donné pour un seul regne ceux de huit ou dix monarques."—*Tableau Historique de l'Orient*, vol. i. p. 4—5.

I am aware that the second Babylonian dynasty, or that of Belus, the reputed father of Ninus, is, by Mr Jackson and other chronologers, made to intervene between the Arabian ascendency and the proper Assyrian conquest. It is not necessary to dispute this position. The Arabs may have been expelled from the throne of Iran, and yet have retained possession of some portion of the kingdom: and Syncellus unquestionably assures us from the writings of Africanus, that the Assyrian monarchs succeeded the Arabians in the government of Babylon, and that thenceforth Babylonia and Chaldea became a part of the Assyrian empire.* Mr Faber, as has been already observed, is of opinion that the Arabian dynasty was contemporary with the Babylonian or Iranian kings who preceded Ninus,—a view of the subject which, though not unobjectionable on other grounds, removes the difficulty which I have just suggested, and reconciles, moreover, an apparent discrepancy between Syncellus and Abydenus.† But, upon the whole, we may conclude that the prophets of the Abâdian family were either themselves the first of the Peschdadian sovereigns, or were contemporary with them; for, as has been noticed by the author of the Origines, the actions which are ascribed to the latter by history and tradition, are attributed to the former by the compiler of the Dabistan.

Before we leave this branch of our inquiry, it may not be inexpedient to advert to an observation made by Sir John Malcolm, in respect to the character of the work which we owe to the industry of Mohsin the Perishable. "It is possible that Fani may have taken this fable from the sources he pretends; but there appears throughout the

* Georg. Syncell. Chronographia, p. 92.
† Chronological Antiquities, vol. i. p. 276.

whole of this branch of his subject a great desire to connect the ancient history of the Persians and Hindoos. The fourteen Mahabads are evidently the fourteen Menus of the latter nation: and the division which the first of that race made of the inhabitants of Persia into four castes, seems to be a transcript, even to the names, of the Hindu tradition of the first establishment of that celebrated institution in India. These and other facts of a similar nature," says Sir John, "lead us to doubt the authenticity of the Dabistan: and our doubts are increased by the character of its author, who, though professing Mahommedanism, was a Sooffee or philosophical devotee, and an avowed believer in the superstition of the Brahmens. His principles must have connected him with the most abstracted and visionary of that tribe; and we cannot be surprised that such a man, endowed with learning and a poetical imagination, should take great liberties with his text, and have tried to reconcile jarring systems."*

The facts here mentioned might lead into a wide field of curious speculation, relative to the origin and early connections of India and Iran. The institution of castes, in imitation, as it professed to be, of the four primary elements of the universe, seems to argue an identity of religious principle among all the nations who adopted it; and although we find this distinction subsisting among the inhabitants of Egypt as well as on the banks of the Ganges, the probability is not thereby lessened that it took its rise from the same views, and was established on the same authority. For several generations after the Flood, the tribes which sprang from the family of Noah

* History of Persia, vol. i. p. 182.

would diverge but slowly from the parent settlement, and carry with them, too, whithersoever they went, the leading principles of their common faith. Even afterwards, when their increasing necessities gradually enlarged the sphere of their migration, the habits of men who lived by pasturage or the chase must have led them over a vast extent of country, not yet marked by any determined limits; and thereby enabled them to keep up a degree of intercourse, which could not fail to spread and perpetuate the belief and customs, whatsoever they might be, which should happen to be recommended to them by any one who professed to bear the credentials of heaven.

It is the opinion of a learned writer, that, in the early ages of the world, the inhabitants of Iran and of India were governed by the same laws, and united as one people under one monarchy. The Zend, the ancient language of the Iranians, was apparently a dialect of the Sanscrit. According, indeed, to the ancient traditions of the Hindus, both the Persians and the Chinese were subjects of India. Thus, says he, it is distinctly stated in the institutes of Menu, that many of the families of the military class abandoned the ordinances of the Veda, and among these are mentioned the Pahlavas and the Chinas—the Persians and the Chinese.*

There is apparently some authority for this opinion, in the tradition already noticed, that a certain king of Iran divided, among his three sons, his extensive dominions, which stretched from the Euphrates to the eastern sea, and from the Persian gulf to the remotest mountains of the north.† To Toor, he gave the wide provinces of Tartary, which was afterwards, from his name, called Tooran or Turan;

* Origines, vol. i. p. 361. Sir William Jones's Discourse on the Chinese.
† Usually said to be Feridûn.

a circumstance which I mention at present for no other reason than that it gives countenance to the hypothesis just stated, and proves that, according to the legends of Persia, the same government was at one time acknowledged over the whole of western Asia. It would, indeed, appear, says the author whose words I have quoted above, that Jey Affram, and his successors down to the time of Kaiomars, were, as well as the princes of the Mahabadian dynasty, of Indian origin, and were kings of Hindustan as well as of Iran.* This inference, I allow, is far from being well established, and would not bear the scrutiny of a very severe logic; still it is of some value, as it marks the impression made on an accomplished and acute understanding by the indirect evidence which Mohsin Fani adduces for a universal monarchy in India and Persia, prior to the days of Kaiomars.

There is no difficulty in establishing a great resemblance in the religious belief and ceremonial usages of all the people who inhabited the central parts of the Asiatic continent, and even of the Chinese and Tartars themselves, who were farther removed from the primeval seat of learning and civilization. We find that most of them worshipped the sun, or principle of fire; that they believed in the existence of *genii* or inferior spirits, who presided over the stars, the clouds, and the elements of nature; and that they all practised certain rites which bore a direct reference to the leading tenets of the Sabian faith. From old Grecian authorities we learn that the Massagetæ adored the solar orb; and the narrative of an embassy from Justinus to the Khakan or emperor, who then resided in a fine vale near the source of the Irtish, mentions the Tartarian

* Origines, vol. i. p. 365.

ceremony of purifying the Roman ambassadors by conducting them between two fires. The Tartars of that age, too, are represented as worshippers of the *four elements*, and believers in an invisible spirit, to whom they sacrificed bulls and rams. Modern travellers relate that, in the festivals of some tribes, they pour a few drops of a consecrated liquor on the statues of their gods; after which an attendant sprinkles a little of what remains three times towards the south in honour of fire, towards the west and east in honour of water and air, and as often towards the north in honour of the earth.*

Besides this similarity in religious feeling and practice, there is also, it has been supposed, such a coincidence in some of their astronomical conclusions as proves that the Iranians, the Tartars, the Chinese, and the Hindus, must have had a common origin, or, at least, a very long and intimate connection. The great period of 1440 years, it is thought, was equally known to all these nations. This cycle, says Sir William Drummond, if it can be properly so called, was equal in round numbers to 120 revolutions of the planet Jupiter, and to 48 of the planet Saturn; and which, when multiplied by 18, gives the number of years in which the pole of the equator moves round the pole of the ecliptic. The portions of the duodenary cycle, too, were indicated by the same animals as symbols among the Iranians, Turanians, and Chinese. The cycle of 60 years, again, which by the Hindus was called the period of *Vrihaspati*, was by the Iranians denominated *Phen*. They united three of these *phens*, and thereby formed a period of 180 years; and they also supposed another period of 144 years, because these two numbers multiplied

* Sir William Jones's Fourth Discourse; On the Tartars. Vol. iii. p. 89.

into each other, give 25,920, the number of years calculated for a complete sidereal revolution. Now it is remarkable, he concludes, that almost all the names under which the Iranians carried on their calculations are Chinese. This shows, if any thing can, the great intercourse that existed among the ancient nations of eastern Asia.*

These considerations will perhaps induce the reader to hesitate before he pronounces the compilation of Mohsin Fani an arrant forgery, merely because the account given in it of the ancient Persians betrays some likeness to the institutions of the Hindus at a later period. Upon due reflection it may appear not altogether improbable that both these nations derived their opinions and usages from the same source; that their religious ceremonies and even the forms of society were in early times strictly similar; and that the changes which afterwards took place were the effect of conquest, or of those resistless inundations of nomadic hordes from the north, which, in various parts of western Asia, have occasionally swept away all remains of former greatness, and obliterated all traces of ancient habits.

It is no part of the undertaking in which we are now engaged, to give a particular account of the religion of the ancient Persians. The learned work of Hyde on this subject is known to every reader; and there are, besides, in the volumes of Sir William Jones and other orientalists, many interesting tracts on the belief and worship of the different Asiatic nations, which contain all the information that zeal and erudition, and the most favourable opportunities, could procure for the satisfaction of the European student. But as, since the days of Prideaux,

* Origines, vol. i. p. 390.

there has been no small degree of controversy among English writers respecting the age and character of Zoroaster, it may be worth while to take a view of the opinions which are more commonly held, and of the arguments which are usually employed, as well by those who regard him as a contemporary of Ninus, as by those who place his era in the reign of Darius Hystaspes.

The learned Dr Hyde, in his elaborate work on the religion of the ancient Persians, states without hesitation that Zoroaster flourished under the sovereign just named, one of the last members of the Kaianian dynasty. He acknowledges, that, even among the best informed authors of the East, there exists a great variety of opinion as to his family and extraction; but in regard to the time in which he lived, he adds, they are all of one mind. The same unanimity, he assures us, prevails relative to the fact that there was only one Zoroaster; the supposition that there were two prophets of the same name, who flourished in different ages, being entirely confined to the scholars of Europe.*

Dr Prideaux adopted the conclusion of Hyde; maintaining, that in the reign of Darius "first appeared in Persia, the famous prophet of the Magians, whom the Persians call Zerdusht or Zaratush, and the Greeks Zoroastres. The Greek and Latin writers much differ about him: some of them will have it that he lived many ages before, and was king of Bactria; and others, that there were several of the same name, who lived in several ages, all famous in the same kind. But the oriental writers,

* De ejus ortu et patria apud Europæos dubitatur, et in diversum itur. Sed haud mirum est si Europæi hoc modo dissentiant de homine peregrino, cum illius populares Orientales etiam de hujus prosapia dubitent: at de ejus tempore concordant omnes; unum tantum constituentes Zoroastren, eumque in eodem seculo ponentes.—*Hyde. Hist. Relig. Vet. Pars.* cap. 24. p. 315.

who should best know, all unanimously agree that there was but one Zerdusht or Zoroastres; and that the time in which he flourished was while Darius Hystaspes was king of Persia."*

On this position Bishop Warburton remarks, that "Dr Prideaux, in his learned Connexions, has indeed told us a very entertaining story of Zoroastres; whom, of an early lawgiver of the Bactrians, Dr Hyde had made a late false prophet of the Persians, and the preacher-up of one God in the public religion; which doctrine, however, this learned man supposes to be stolen from the Jews. But the truth is, the whole is a pure fable; contradicts all learned antiquity; and is supported only by the ignorant and romantic relations of late Persian writers under the Khalifs, who make Zoroastres contemporary with Darius Hystaspes, and servant to one of the Jewish prophets."†

It cannot be denied, that the Persians who wrote under the Mahomedan government have introduced into their history of Zerdusht a vast deal of mystical nonsense; but they have, I need scarcely add, acted the same part towards Abraham and Daniel, and the greater number of the prominent characters who are mentioned in the Old Testament. The absurd additions which they have everywhere made to the sober truths of biography, must not be held conclusive against the existence of the individuals whose opinions and actions they profess to describe; else we must consent to forego all belief in the Father of the Faithful, as well as in the most distinguished of his successors in the Hebrew nation. In respect, again, to the learned antiquity which the judgment of Hyde is said to contradict, the ingenious prelate has not produced any in-

* Prideaux, part i. book iv. p. 219. † Divine Legation, note A, book iv.

stances upon which to vindicate his strictures. Justin, I am aware, relates that Ninus waged war with a certain king of Bactria, whose name was Zoroastres, and whom he describes as the first inventor of magical arts, and a diligent student of natural science and of the motions of the stars. Postremum illi bellum cum Zoroastre, regi Bactrianorum, fuit, qui primus dicitur artes magicas invenisse, et mundi principia siderumque motus diligentissime spectasse.*

But it is well known, that Diodorus Siculus, in narrating these events, gives to the king of the Bactrians the name of Oxyartes instead of Zoroaster,—an appellation which, according to Dr Hyde, was not unfrequently addressed to Eastern sovereigns, as denoting certain qualities which belonged to them in common. Besides, in some manuscript copies of Justin, we find the name Oxyartes inserted as the true reading, and thus harmonizing with the authority of Diodorus and Ctesias, both of whom agree in the same orthography.† Prideaux is unquestionably right in his suggestion, that the studious habits of the monarch have, through the conjectural criticism of a scholiast, and the stupidity of a transcriber, led to the identity of the name. The learning of antiquity, therefore, so far as I can see, is rather in favour of Hyde and Prideaux. No writer of ancient Greece has pronounced the Bactrian king and the Persian magician to be the same person; while Pliny and others among the Latins write so uncertainly, that it is perfectly clear they possessed no accurate information in regard to his character. Sine dubio illa (Magia) orta in Perside a Zoroastre, ut inter auctores

* Justini Hist. lib. i. c. 1.

† Vid. Ælian. lib. vii. c. 1.; Plin. lib. xxx. c. 1.; Diodor. Sicul. lib. ii. c. 6.

convenit. Sed unus hic fuerit, an postea et alius, non satis constat. Eudoxus qui inter sapientiæ sectas clarissimam utilissimamque eam intelligi voluit, Zoroastrem hunc sex millibus annorum ante Platonis mortem prodidit. Sic et Aristoteles.*

The conjectures of Pliny and Aristotle are so far removed from probability, that we can have no hesitation in asserting their total ignorance of Persian affairs, as well as of the principles of a sound and accurate chronology. The term of six thousand years before the death of Plato indicates an epoch which extends considerably beyond the creation of the world; and precludes at once all inquiry into the justness of an opinion which is so utterly inconsistent with the general tenor of history, whether sacred or profane.

If the authority of the Dabistan be admitted, there can no longer be any doubt, that the Zoroaster whom the Persians received as a prophet lived in the latter period of their monarchy; and that they did not recognize any other teacher of the same name as the founder of the Magian religion. We find no allusion to any king of Bactria, learned in those sciences which expound the qualities of nature and the motions of the heavenly bodies, who condescended to communicate to the Iranians the knowledge of the physical mysteries, to which their worship is supposed to have borne an immediate reference. The records of Persia are silent in regard to such a personage. Mohsin Fani, in his researches into the religious usages of remote times, discovered not the slightest evidence in support of the fact that his countrymen had borrowed their faith and ritual from a neighbouring prince. The honour of re-

* Plinii Hist. Natur. lib. xxx. c. 1.

vealing the divine will to the first inhabitants of Iran is by him ascribed to the sacred rulers of the Mahabadian family, or to a dynasty of kings, who, themselves, were either the descendants of the great Abad, or who, soon after the foundations of the Elamite monarchy, divided with them the toils of government.

Dr Hales continued to believe that there had been among the Persians two prophets named Zoroaster. "The founder of the Magian religion," says he, "was the elder Zerdusht, or Zoroaster of the Greeks, king of Bactria, who is supposed, by Diodorus and Justin, to have been slain by Ninus, the first king of Assyria, and, by many of the Persian writers, to have been the contemporary of Abraham; and, according to others, of Tahamuras, the third Peschdadian king, coeval with Abraham. The near concurrence of these accounts," he adds, "seems to fix his time within the limits of the Peschdadian dynasty. He is not therefore to be confounded (as he is by several oriental writers) with the younger Zoroaster in the days of Darius Hystaspes, the reformer of the Magian religion."*

This opinion, it will be observed, rests almost solely on the authority of Justin; for Diodorus, as I have already stated, gives to the king of Bactria, who was conquered by Ninus, the name of Oxyartes; while, as Hyde assures us, the Persian authors are unanimous in fixing the era of their prophet, not in the time of Abraham, but in that of Gushtasp, more commonly called Darius the son of Hystaspes.

* New Analysis of Chronology, vol. iii. p. 39.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE MORE REMARKABLE STATES AND KINGDOMS OF ANCIENT GREECE.

THE least perfect portion of the work of my learned predecessor, Dr Shuckford, is, that in which he treats of the Grecian states, of their lineage and their mythology. Combining fiction with a few ill-defined historical facts, he attempts to trace the origin of the leading families of that interesting country to the genealogy of the gods. In his first volume he represents the eight divinities, Sol, Saturnus, Rhea, Jupiter, Juno, Vulcanus, Vesta, and Mercurius, as real personages who lived before the Flood; whereas, in the third volume, with a degree of inconsistency which he does not attempt to vail, he proceeds to give the memoirs of Jupiter, whom he next supposes to have flourished in Greece, from about the time of Moses to within three or four centuries of the Trojan war. He even undertakes to furnish a history of Jupiter's court and family, viewing him only as an earthly prince. He tells us that Neptune and Pluto were his brothers; that Juno

was his wife; that Vesta and Ceres were his sisters; and that Vulcan, Mars, Apollo, Diana, Mercury, Venus, and Minerva, were his children: all of whom, he thinks, were deified after their death, for their wisdom in directing the government of Crete. Bacchus was afterwards introduced into the same family, on account of some important inventions which added merit to his name.*

Dr. Clayton, the celebrated bishop of Clogher, first pointed out the absurdity of these views, and, in particular, the inconsistency of ranking the same individuals as antediluvian demigods, and also as sovereigns of Crete after the Flood. Jupiter, Juno, Vulcan, Vesta, and Mercury, are supposed by him to have reigned in Egypt before the time of Noah; and also to have held the place of supreme rulers in the islands of Greece, about the period of the Hebrew exode. It is most probable, says the bishop, that there never was any such real person as Jupiter in Greece, any more than there were such real persons as Chronus, Uranus, or Tellus, in Phenicia, Assyria, or Egypt. But Dr Shuckford collects from Diodorus and Apollodorus, that Chronus was the son of Uranus, and that from Uranus and Tythæa or Tellus, were also born the Centimani and the Cyclops, whom their father Uranus sent to inhabit the land of Tartarus. What or where that country was, it may, he acknowledges, be difficult to determine; but as this hopeful progeny were sent out of their native land, he gravely concludes that it could be no part of Crete.†

That Chronus was an imaginary or allegorical person-

* Shuckford's Connections, vol. i. p. 11.; vol. ii. p. 286. 288. 293.; vol. iii. p. 118—169.

† Strictures on Dr Shuckford's Account of the Heathen Gods, &c. By the Right Rev. Dr R. Clayton, Bishop of Clogher.

age, may be discovered from the description which is given of this god by Sanchoniathon himself. He represents him with four eyes, two before and two behind; two of which were always shut, and two were always open; denoting that time has a reference to that which is past as well as that which is to come; being always upon the watch even when he seems to be at rest. He was also delineated with four wings, two of which were stretched out as in the motion of flight, and two were contracted as if in repose; signifying that time passes on, even when it appears to stand, and that when flying it seems to be at rest. Sanchoniathon adds, that Chronus is said to have despatched his son with his own hand, and also to have cut off the head of his daughter,—a metaphorical expression suited to the wasting effects of time on all created substances, which may therefore be said to destroy its own offspring.*

I mention these things, which must be familiar to every reader, in order to point out the slender foundation on which Dr Shuckford erected his hypothesis respecting the ancient inhabitants of Crete. No remark, indeed, is more common than that the origin of all nations is wrapped up in obscurity; but we ought not, on that account, to adopt for literal facts the ideal portraitures of a lively people, whose imaginations were ever ready to supply the lack of knowledge by introducing the creatures of poetical fiction. We cannot solicit credence for any view of human history which exhibits a king of Crete as the grandson of a being with four wings and as many eyes; and as

* Saturnum autem cum esse voluerunt qui cursum et conversionem spatiorum et temporum contineret, qui deus Græcè id ipsum nomen habet: Κρονος enim dicitur, qui est idem χρονος, id est, spatium temporis. Saturnus autem est appellatus quod saturetur annis. Ex se enim natos commesse fingitur solitus, quia consumit aetas temporum spatia, annisque præteritis insaturabiliter expletur.

having around his own person, at his little court, Neptune, Pluto, Mars, Vulcan, Juno, Venus, and Mercury. Nor is our incredulity vanquished by finding that "Pluto, one of Jupiter's brothers, was appointed not only to direct what rites and ceremonies should be used at funerals, but also to declare what honours should be paid to persons deceased, in order to convey their names, according to their deserts, down to posterity. And as Jupiter took care himself to settle the measure of his own fame, and of the illustrious persons engaged with him in the execution of his designs, as well as to determine what sort of honours should be decreed to them that came after them, it might well happen that Jupiter and his associates should come down to after ages in a degree of honour higher than what any who lived after them could attain to, or than what would be given to any of his ancestors or other contemporaries; he having thus settled both his own and their fame, in such manner and measure as he and the persons under his direction thought proper to record it."*

There is hardly any room for doubt, that the islands of Greece drew their inhabitants from Assyria and Egypt. That the human race formed, on the banks of the Euphrates, their earliest settlements after the Flood, is a position which is admitted by most writers; while all allow, at least, that the fine countries, which are watered by the river now named, were among the first that became populous. Whether the inhabitants of that fertile land invented the several arts connected with astronomy, or whether they received them from the patriarchs who preserved the remains of antediluvian science, it is now impossible to determine; but it is certain that a considerable progress was made in these

* Shuckford, vol. iii. p. 144.

recondite studies at a period so remote as to deny all means of investigating their rise; and also that, whatever obscurity may involve the history of letters, we can still trace every known alphabet to the neighbourhood of Babylon.*

To realize the intentions of Divine Providence in peopling the earth, there appears to have been impressed upon the minds of men, in the first ages of society, an invincible desire of emigration: and of the families who went in quest of new settlements, none were more fortunate than those who took possession of Egypt. That singular country, which enjoys, from its situation among deserts, all the security which belongs to kingdoms surrounded by the ocean, presented in unusual abundance all the necessaries of life. Its periodical floods, which, to the inexperienced, might appear as ministers of desolation, would be known by those who had seen the Euphrates and Tigris periodically overflow their banks, to be among the richest boons of nature. Thus invited, the first inhabitants of Egypt gave their attention to agriculture, the mother of civilization and of the arts. The fertility of the soil, yielding rapid and prodigiously large returns, gave great encouragement to population; regular government and commerce soon followed; and science, which confers upon the human race both dignity and strength, delayed not to advance in the steps of plenty and repose. But ambition, curiosity, and domestic dissensions, probably suggested to the first emigrants from Egypt, that there might be other lands not less favoured than their own; and whether they adventured out to sea, or coasted along the shores of Syria, the existence of the Grecian peninsula with its cluster of islands could not remain long concealed.†

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* Mitford's History of Greece, vol. i. p. 5, edition 1820.
† Mitford, vol. i. p. 7.

Nor was the spirit of enterprise long confined to Egypt. The inhabitants of Mesopotamia, allured by the pursuits of hunting or of pasturage, might be tempted to cross the desert, and approach the shores of the Mediterranean sea. Those who came to the western coast of Asia would have many inducements to pass over to the adjacent islands. Security from savage beasts, and from men not less savage, would prove a powerful motive with such as sought a habitation, rather than the means of supporting a wild and migratory life; and this important object would appear much more within their reach, if occupying one of those insulated spots to which the current of population had not yet advanced, than if they were to continue amid the crowd of adventurers who delighted more in change of scene than in a tranquil and fixed abode.

When the nearest island was attained, small encouragement would suffice to accomplish another voyage to one farther remote; until at length navigation would become to the new settlers a natural and constant employment. The same process would soon lead to the shores of continental Greece, indented as it is with numerous gulfs and bays; and we find, in fact, that the eastern coasts of Europe were looked upon by the Asiatic emigrants with so favourable an eye, as to have been peopled in a very short time after Egypt and Phenicia. The earliest navigators from these flourishing countries make mention of colonists in the Greek islands; and as no part of the mainland itself was at a great distance from the sea, the whole participated easily in the means of obtaining wealth, knowledge, and civilization. Greece, it is admitted, was the first country in Europe that emerged from the savage state; and this advantage it seems to have owed entirely to its readier communication with the civilized nations of the East. Still there is ample ground for the assertion fre-

quently repeated in the works of ancient authors, that Assyria was a powerful empire, Egypt a most populous kingdom, governed by a very refined system of laws, and Sidon an opulent city, abounding with manufactures, and carrying on an extensive commerce, when the Greeks, ignorant of the most obvious and necessary arts, were yet content to derive their subsistence from the spontaneous gifts of nature.*

It thus becomes extremely probable, that the ancestors of the Greeks, as they themselves have always maintained, came from different countries, and had sprung from various stocks. This facility of explaining genealogical mysteries has, indeed, by a modern writer, been imputed to those ingenious islanders as a proof that they trusted more to their imaginations as poets, than to the accuracy of their researches as historians.†

But amid all the obscurity and contradiction through which the student of ancient history has to force his way, there is a strong body of evidence in support of the opinion usually entertained on this subject, that the population of Greece was augmented and diversified by two separate currents of emigration from the East as well as from the South. In the earliest period to which tradition carries us back, we find powerful tribes of Pelasgians in possession of

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* Mitford, vol. i. p. 9.

† Les Grecs ne se sont jamais trouvés a court, lorsqu'il s'est agi de donner des ancêtres a quelqu'une de leurs peuplades. Demandez leur quel a eté le premier pere des Lacedemoniens, ils vous repondront que c'êst Lelex: d'ou venoient les Pelasges, ils diront de Pelasgus: autant de nations, autant de chefs; autant de villes, autant de fondateurs. Qui est ce qui sait au juste quels ont eté ou Deucalion ou Ogyges auxquels cependant on ne donne pas moins qu'un deluge,—L'histoire de Dardanus est encore une de celles, ou il semble que l'on n'ait rien compris: celle de Persée est si obscure que jusqu'ici les Mythologues l'ont en quelque façon abandonnée; en un mot, dans cette antiquité reculée, les Grecs se promettent tout et n'eclaircissent rien.—*Fourmont, Reflexions Critiques*, vol. ii. p. 218.

the finest provinces of that country on both sides of the Corinthian isthmus, and employing their superior knowledge and activity in founding the celebrated states of Sicyon and Argos. About the same time, a race of colonists, who had probably crossed the narrow strait which divides Europe from Asia, fixed upon a residence in the more northern parts of the country. The early fortunes of the latter adventurers are usually associated with the name of Deucalion, whose son, Hellen, supplied an appellation to his followers which continued nearly as long as the freedom and glory of the nation to which they gave rise. The other class of settlers, who are understood to have been of Phenician extraction, are described by historians as boasting of a certain chief called Inachus, as the leader of their bands, and the first sovereign of their adopted country; whose descendants, Ægialeus and Phoroneus, were intrusted respectively with the sceptres of Sicyon and Argos, where they established dynasties which perpetuated their name and their authority about a thousand years.

The Pelasgians, accustomed to the sea, and fond of enterprise, did not long rest satisfied with the peaceful possession of their lands in Greece. Pushing their discoveries farther to the westward, they landed on the coast of Italy, and disputed with the natives the occupation of those extensive plains, which were afterwards distinguished by the name of Magna Græcia. The Hellenes, more attached to the soil, cultivated the arts of peace; in the pursuit of which they were soon afterwards materially assisted by the arrival of other adventurers from Egypt and Phenicia. But before we can enter with any prospect of success into the historical details which present themselves to our attention, it is necessary that we should determine a few leading points in regard to the chronological order and connexion of events.

In tracing the course of Grecian chronology, we shall have frequent occasion to make reference to the Arundel Marbles, it may therefore be found convenient to give a short account of these famous reliques of antiquity, and even to present a copy of the particular record which is commonly known by the name of the Parian Chronicle.

About the year 1624, Thomas, Earl of Arundel, employed Mr William Petty, a learned and indefatigable archæologist, to collect for him in Greece and Asia Minor, such remains of literature and the arts as might illustrate the ancient history of that very interesting portion of the eastern world. Of the qualifications of Mr Petty for the task which he undertook there is a full and amusing testimony still extant in the Letters of Sir Thomas Roe, who, at the period in question, was British ambassador at the court of Constantinople. In writing to Lord Arundel, October 20, 1625, he says, "Mr Petty hath visited Pergamo, Samos, Ephesus, and some other places, where he hath made your Lordship greate provisions, though he lately wrote to me he had found nothing worth." A few months afterwards Sir Thomas remarks, "My last letters brought your Lordship the advice of Mr Petty's shipwracke and losses upon the coast of Asya, returning from Samos. Although he will not boast to me, yet I am informed he hath gotten many things rare and ancient. There was never man so fitted to an employment; that encounters all accidents with so unwearied patience, eates with Greekes on their worst days, lies with fishermen on plancks at the best, is *all things to all men*, that he may obteyne his ends, which are your Lordship's service." "Mr Petty hath raked together 200 pieces, all broken, or few entire; what they will prove I cannot judge. Hee hath this advantage, that hee went himself into all the islands and took all hee saw, and is now gone to Athens,

where I have had an agent nine months."—"I could have laden shippes with such stones as Mr Petty diggs, but good things undefaced are rare, or rather not to be found. Our search hath made many poore men industrious to rippe up old ruins."*

Early in the year 1627, the fruits of Petty's industry were sent to London, and deposited in the gardens belonging to Arundel House in the Strand. On the arrival of so many fine specimens of ancient taste and genius, a very lively interest was excited among the learned; and an equal

* These extracts from the *Negociations* of Sir Thomas Roe are of considerable value, as they expose the groundlessness of an opinion which long kept a firm hold of the public mind, and which was first propagated by Gassendi in his Life of Peiresc. It was asserted by this biographer, that the *Parian Chronicle* was first discovered by Peiresc, and purchased for him by one *Sampson*, his agent at Smyrna, for 50 pieces of gold; but when it was ready to be sent on board, Sampson, by some artifice on the part of the natives, was cast into prison. It is added, that the various marbles were thrown into great disorder, and that they were afterwards purchased for Lord Arundel by Mr Petty, who gave for them a much greater price.

This report, says Dr Hales, which was unnoticed by Sir Thomas Roe and Mr Petty, seems vague and improbable in itself: for, 1st, Gassendi evidently confounded the *Parian Chronicle*, which was engraved on a single tablet, with the whole collection. 2dly, It appears that the collection of the Arundel Marbles was made by Petty himself in detached pieces, during his progress through Asia Minor, the islands, and Greece; and that the Chronicle was not found till near the end, and probably at the island of Paros, according to the opinion of the generality of writers, *Du Pin*, *Du Fresnoy*, *Rawlinson*, &c. grounded on the evidence of the Chronicle itself, which seems to have been engraved at Paros, for the author's and his countrymen's use; for, if elsewhere, why should Astyanax be noticed as archon at Paros in the year that it was made?

It is not probable, indeed, that even Mr Petty exactly knew the contents of the *Marmor Chronicon*; for it is not distinguished by any particular appellation in Sir Thomas Roe's correspondence, though included under the general description of *things rare and ancient*. We might also reasonably form this conclusion, from Selden's account of the great difficulty he found in deciphering it, which he represents as the labour of *a great many days*. 'It is more obscure," says he, "than the *Smyrnean League*, the characters being often *entirely obliterated*, *often nearly so*. Nevertheless, by the assistance of glasses, and the critical sagacity of my very kind friend Patrick Young, after a great many repeated trials, I have restored them as well as I could."—*See New Analysis of Chronology*, vol. i. p. 209.

curiosity everywhere prevailed to ascertain the amount of the literary treasure which had thus been placed within the reach of the historian and chronographer. Sir Robert Cotton was among the first who proceeded to examine the Arundel Marbles; and having seen that they contained a great variety of inscriptions, he instantly flew to Selden to entreat that accomplished scholar to undertake the office of interpreter. "Cum primum inviserat ea vir præstantissimus, Robertus Cottonus, condus ille et promus vetustatis longe locupletissimus, *ad me advolat, et impensius instat*, ut mane proximo, (nam provectior nox erat) ad Græca illa arcana me totum accingerem. *Libentissime annuo.*"*

Selden readily complied with his request; but that the work might be more expeditiously accomplished, he desired the assistance of the learned Patrick Young, librarian to the king, and Richard James, fellow of Corpus Christi College in Oxford. The next morning before it was light (illuscente die crastino) the three friends met in Arundel Gardens, and began their operations by cleaning and examining the marble which contained the league made by Smyrna and Magnesia with Seleucus Callinicus, king of Syria. They afterwards followed the same process with other and still more valuable slabs; and at length extended their cares and research to the celebrated Parian Chronicle itself, by far the most precious of the whole.

This marble, when entire, exhibited a chronological detail of the principal events of Greece and the neighbouring states, beginning with the accession of Cecrops B.C. 1582, and ending with the archonship of Diognetus, at Athens, B.C. 264. But the Chronicle of the last ninety

* Selden's Works, vol. ii. p. 1439, cited by Hales.

years was lost, so that the part now remaining ends at the archonship of Diotimus, B.C. 354. The Parian Chronicle is therefore but a fragment; and the writing on it is in many places so much corroded and defaced, that the sense could only be discovered by the sagacity and learning of the most practised antiquaries; or, as Dr Hales expresses it, could only be deciphered or supplied by their conjectures.

The popular commotions which so soon afterwards disturbed the reign of Charles the First, proved, in the mean time, extremely unfavourable to the cause of literature and taste. Arundel house was repeatedly deserted by its illustrious owners; and, in their absence, some of the marbles, which still remained in the garden, were broken, some stolen, and others actually used for the purposes of building. This unworthy destination, it is to be lamented, fell to the lot of the Parian Chronicle; the upper part of which, containing at least half of the inscription, having been worked up in repairing a chimney in the dwelling of the same munificent nobleman, who had been at so much pains and expense to procure it from abroad. The portion still preserved begins with these words,—ἐσκευσε και νομισμα, l. 46, epoch 31.

In the year 1667, the Hon. Henry Howard, grandson, by the mother's side, of the original collector, was induced, at the instance of the celebrated John Evelyn, to present these curious remains of antiquity to the University of Oxford; where they are now carefully preserved in a room adjoining to the public schools, called the *Musæum Arundelianum*.

The Parian Chronicle, we are told, was engraved on a coarse kind of marble, five inches thick, which, when Selden examined it, measured 3 feet 7 inches by 2 feet 7 inches. The top was imperfect; the lower corner on the

right-hand having been broken off, and the right side measured only 2 feet 11 inches. It contained at that time ninety-three lines, including the imperfect ones, and might originally, perhaps, have contained a hundred. Upon an average, the lines consist of a hundred and thirty letters, all capitals, in close continuation, and, like the oldest Greek manuscripts, unbroken into words. The ancient curtailed form of the *Pi* Γ is observed; the prostrate *Eta* ⌶ is used for the Zeta; and there are some smaller capitals, particularly the *Omicron*, *Omega*, and *Theta*, intermixed with the larger; and the whole possesses that plainness and simplicity, which are among the surest marks of antiquity, and presents a general resemblance, but not a servile imitation, of the most authentic monuments about the same date.

The following is a specimen of the mode of writing:—

——————— ΑΦΟΥΟΙ . . . . . ΝΕΣΕΙΣΤΡΟΙΑΝΕ . . . ΡΑΤΕΥΣ . . . . ΕΤΗ|Η'ΗΗΗΗ|Δ'ΙΙΙΙΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣΑΘΗ . . . . . ΕΣΘΕΩΣΤΡΕΙΣΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΤΟΥΕΤΟΥΣΑΦΟΥΤΡΟΙΑΗΛΩΕΤΗ|Η'ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΠΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣΑΘΗΝΩΝ . . . . . ΩΣΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΥΕΤΟΥΣΜΗΝΟΣΘ . . . . . ΝΟΣΕΒΔΟΜΗΙΦΘΙΝΟΝΤΟΣ.

The same in modern Greek letters, divided into words, and the lacunæ supplied:—

——————— Ἀφ' ὃ οἱ [Ελλην]ες εις Τροιαν ε[ςρ]ατευσ]αντο] ετη DCCCCLIV· βασιλευοντος Αθη[νων Μεν]εσθεως τρεις και δεκατου ετους. Ἀφ' ὃ Τροια ἡλω ετη DCCCCXLV, βασιλευοντος Αθηνων [Μενεσθε]ως, δευτερου ετους, μηνος [Θαργηλιω]νος ἑβδομῃ φθινοντος.

Many years elapsed before any doubts were insinuated in regard to the authenticity of this celebrated Chronicle.

Besides Selden and his learned coadjutors, several other writers of high character had expressed their satisfaction with the evidence upon which it was received as a genuine relique of antiquity. At length, in the year 1788, Mr Robertson, in his *Dissertation on the Parian Chronicle*, thought proper to call in question the opinions of Selden, Prideaux, Maittaire, and other antiquaries, relative to this subject. His argument was met, in the following year, by a very able reply on the part of Mr Hewlett, entitled "A Vindication of the Authenticity of the Parian Chronicle;" in which the groundless assumptions and weak reasoning of his antagonist are triumphantly exposed. But his hypothesis, as Dr Hales observes, refutes itself; for he admits, that "this curious, learned, and comprehensive system of chronology, including a detail of the principal epochas and transactions of Greece and other countries, of Athens, Corinth, Macedon, Lydia, Crete, Cyprus, Sicily, and Persia, during a period of 1300 years and upwards, must have been engraved at a *considerable expense*, on a tablet of marble;" after which he very inconsistently supposes that "it might have been a spurious fabrication of some learned Greek, so late as the 16th century, executed from a mercenary motive of gain, in order that it might be sold for a high price at Smyrna, a commodious emporium for such rarities, after he had artfully broken the block, and defaced the inscription in several places, to give to it an air of antiquity!" We may rest satisfied that such a laborious, learned, and expensive work was not likely to suggest itself to a mere dealer in curiosities; nor is it more probable, that an undertaking, which required so much research, could be accomplished by a fraudulent pretender to antiquarian knowledge.

I need scarcely remark, that the compiler of the Chro-

nicle remains unknown. "The author of four dissertations subjoined to the Septuagint version of *Daniel*, printed at Rome in 1772, ascribes the Parian Chronicle to *Demetrius Phalereus*, as its author. The name is unluckily defaced at the beginning of the inscription, and he thus ingeniously supplies the lacunæ:—

[Δημητριος ὁ Φανοστρατ]ου [Φαληρευς, εκ των συ]μπαν[των ὑπαρ-χοντ]ων [χρο]νων ανεγραψα, &c.

"It is true, indeed, that the classical purity of the style, the great variety of minute and miscellaneous information, in so short a compass, not only respecting the principal facts in some of the most important eras of Greece, but also marking the progress of civilization and science, by fixing the date of the most eminent legislators, poets, and philosophers, all evince considerable learning and research, and local knowledge, in the compiler of the Chronicle, joined to the labour and expense of the engraving, which evidently prove that he could neither have been a mean nor illiterate individual, but rather some citizen distinguished for his fortune and talents; yet it is not probable that *Demetrius*, however the description may suit him in other respects, was the author, from the mention of *Astyanax*, the Parian Archon, as observed before, which, though highly proper, if the Chronicle was the production of a native, would surely be irrelevant, were he an *Athenian* himself, or governor of *Athens*. And *Paros* was one of the most flourishing and opulent of the *Cyclades*, and therefore likely to possess such citizens.

"And indeed the most rational solution, perhaps, of the *silence* of subsequent classical writers respecting this curious Chronicle (which is the principal argument urged to impeach its genuineness) may be derived from its insu-

lar and secluded situation. Even the *Symrnæan* league itself, though a public record of considerable notoriety and importance in history, is equally unnoticed by subsequent historians, and yet its authenticity is unquestioned.

"The inscription in general, so far as it is legible, may be considered as accurately engraved, which is no slight recommendation of its merit and utility, considering the difficulty of the task. Still, however, it exhibits occasional errors; such, probably, are those usually reputed *archaisms*, of εγ for εν or εκ; εμ for εν; αμ for αν; τομ for τον; τημ for την, &c. because these words are in general written correctly; and in the foregoing specimen, epoch 25, there is a gross omission of εικοστου και, before δευτερου; because *Troy* was taken, not in the "*second*," but in the "*twenty-second* year of the reign of *Menestheus*," as is evident from the preceding paragraph, which dates the expedition against *Troy* "in the *thirteenth* year of his reign." This latter clause is also erroneously introduced again verbatim in *Selden's* edition of the inscription, epoch 28. It is true, *Chandler* proposes a different conjectural reading of the clause; namely, βασιλευοντος Αθηνων Μεδοντος τρεις και δεκατον ετους, substituting the perpetual Archon *Medon* for *Menestheus*; but this is inadmissible: for, 1. He could have no access to the marble itself for revision, which, since *Selden's* time, has been destroyed and lost, as low down as epoch 31. 2. By the ensuing rectification of the *heroic* period of the Chronicle, it appears that the 28th epoch corresponded to the eighth year of *Acastus*."

It will be found, upon examination, that the Chronicle has been constructed on two different and independent principles of computation; the former *analytic*, reckoning upwards from B.C. 264, the fixed date or radix at the bottom; the latter synthetic, reckoning downwards from the reign of Cecrops, through the succeeding kings and per-

petual, decennial, and annual archons. The first was a compendious and ingenious mode of reckoning, by adding, to the fixed date successively, supplemental numbers, expressed shortly by numeral letters. This was probably the invention of the compiler of the Chronicle, to save as well his own labour as the expense and toil of engraving. The other was, no doubt, the original mode employed by the authors from whose works the Chronicle was constructed. That this was the compiler's design, is evident from his omitting for the most part the years of each reign; which, in the present epochs, so fortunately preserved, are expressed in words at full length, and take up a great deal of room.

It is worthy of notice, too, and the fact did not escape the penetration of Selden, that there is a difference of about twenty-five years between the two methods of computation; and that this difference is not accidental, but designed, running uniformly through all the dates of the *heroic* period, from Cecrops to the destruction of Troy; whereas, in the second or *historic* period, (a distinction suggested by Selden) the two methods agree to the end. Dr Hales has attempted to reconcile these two schemes; but as his remarks are too long to be quoted, and do not admit of an intelligible abridgment, I refer the inquisitive reader to the first volume of his laborious work, from which I have extracted the substance of the foregoing observations on the Arundel Marbles.

"The epoch, with which the *historical* or second period of the Chronicle begins, is of considerable importance:

"1. It verifies the next epoch, 33, by reckoning downwards, and fixes the establishment of annual Archons in B. C. 684. 2. It also detects an error in Petavius, adopted by Playfair, that the decennial archonship expired with Eryxias, B.C. 687, three years earlier; in consequence of

which, the latter has unwarrantably deducted two years from the decennial Archon Charops, and one year from Æsimedes, in order to fix the accession of the first decennial Archon Charops, in B.C. 754, which he rightly does, following Prideaux. 3. Selden judiciously observes, that this epoch furnishes an important adjustment of the dates of the succeeding colonies, after Syracuse, which settled at Naxos, Catana, Trotilus, &c. and are noticed in the beginning of the sixth book of Thucydides.

"We are now warranted, upon the high authority of the Parian Chronicle, to consider the thirty reigns of the Athenian kings and archons, from Cecrops to Creon, the first annual archon, as one of the most authentic and correct documents to be found in the whole range of Profane Chronology; while the Chronicle also verifies the broken list of annual archons, as far as it reaches downwards, by confirming, in near twenty instances, the dates assigned by other historians, both earlier and later.

"We are also enabled to adjust that much-disputed epoch of the time of Homer with a high degree of precision. Diognetus, in whose archonship he flourished, epoch 30, did not begin to reign till B. C. 893; consequently the date B. C. 907, furnished by the supplemental number, which is perfect, must be erroneous: if then we reduce it to B. C. 884, the ninth year of Diognetus, we shall find it confirmed by the important testimony of Herodotus, who declares, that 'Hesiod and Homer lived not above four hundred years before his time.' B. 2. 53. Herodotus was born B. C. 484, which, added to 400, gives B. C. 884.'

"The supplemental number in the epoch of Hesiod 29, is imperfect DCLXX . . Selden supplies the chasm with another X, and so makes it 680; but Prideaux, with II, reducing it to 672, which also reduces the epoch to

B. C. 936, and so leaves a difference of 52 years between the poets, which is still too much. But if we further deduct the systematic difference of 25 years, it will reduce Hesiod's time to B. C. 911, and leave an interval of only 27 years between them.

"The conjectural date assigned to epoch 28, of the Ionic migration, B. C. 1077, by Selden, and followed by his successors, requires to be lowered in the same proportion. For Eusebius states, that this migration took place in the eighth year of the Athenian king Acastus, which, according to his Canon, was B. C. 1043; and Eratosthenes dated it 140 years after the destruction of Troy, which he reckoned B.C. 1183, furnishing the same year, B. C. 1043. And this rectification critically corresponds with the account of Thucydides, who, in his curious and valuable summary of the ancient state of Greece, antecedent to the Peloponnesian war, B. 1, dates the return of the Heraclidæ to Peloponnesus, 80 years after the destruction of Troy; and he describes the planting of Ionia, and several of the islands, as 'a good while after their return,' which agrees very well to 60 years after."

The first edition of the Arundelian Inscriptions was published by Selden in 1628, the year after their arrival, in a small quarto volume, entitled *Marmora Arundelliana*, including twenty-nine Greek and Latin inscriptions, copied from the marbles, with a translation and commentary.

"When his edition (which is chiefly the basis of the rest) grew scarce, bishop Fell engaged Mr Prideaux to publish a second, which he did, in 1676, under the title of *Marmora Oxoniensia*, and augmented it with the variorum notes of Lydiat, Ursatus, and other learned commentators.

"In 1732, a third and enlarged variorum edition was published by Mr Maittaire, with the comments of Selden,

Price, Palmerius, Lydiat, Marsham, Prideaux, Reinesius, Spon, Smith, Bentley, Maffei, Dodwell, along with his own conjectures and remarks on the marbles, and the preceding comments.

"In 1673, after the University had acquired a very great variety of other ancient marbles, by the benefactions of Sir George Wheeler, the Countess of Pomfret in 1755, Mr Dawkins, Dr Rawlinson, and others; Dr Chandler undertook to give the public a new and improved edition of these valuable remains of antiquity, in a very magnificent volume, in which he has corrected the mistakes of his predecessors, and, in the *Parian Chronicle* especially, has supplied the lacunæ by many happy conjectures. These are introduced in the following copy of the original Greek Chronicle, given by him; and the English translation which follows is chiefly that of Hewlett, founded thereon; which therefore is greatly superior to those of count Scipio Maffei in Italian, M. Du Fresnoy in French, and Dr Playfair in English, from the earlier editions."*

* Hales's New Analogy of Chronology, vol. i. p.

CHRONICON PARIUM

EX

MARMORIBUS ARUNDELIANIS.

. . . . . ου . . . . . νπαν . . . ων . . . . . .
νων ανεγραψα τους αν[ωθεν χρονους] αρξαμ[εν]ος απο Κεκροπος του πρωτου βασιλευσαντος Αθτηνων, εἰως αρχοντος εμ Παρῳ [μεν Ας]υανακτος, Αθηνησιν δε Διογνητου.

1. Αφ ὁ Κεκροψ Αθηνων εβασιλευσε, και ἡ χωρα Κεκροπια εκληθη, το προτερον καλουμενη Ακτικη, απο Ακταιου του αυτοχθονος, ετη ΧΗΗΗΔΠΙΙΙ.
2. Αφ ὁ Δευκαλίων παρα τον Παρνασσον εν Λυκωρεια εβασιλευσε, [βα]σιλε[υο]ντος Αθηνων Κεκροπος, ετη ΧΗΗΗΔ.
3. Αφ ὁ δικη Αθηνησι[ν εγε]νετο Αρει και Ποσειδωνι ὑπερ Αλιρροθιου του Ποσειδωνος, και ὁ τοπος εκληθη Αρειος παγος ετη ΧΗΗ|Δ'ΔΠΙΙΙ, βασιλευοντος Αθηνων Κρ[ανα]ου.
4. Αφ ὁ κατακλυσμος επι Δευκαλιωνος εγενετο, και Δευκαλιων, τους ομβρους εφυγεν εγ Λυκωριας εις Αθηνας προ[ς Κρανα]ον, και του Διο[ς του Ολυμπιου το ἱερ] ον ιδ[ρυσατ]ο, [και] τα σωτηρια εθυσεν, [ε]τη ΧΗΗ|Δ'ΔΠ, βασιλευοντος Αθηνων Κρ[α]ν[α]ου.
5. Α[φ ὁ Αμφι]κτυων Δεκαλιωνος εβασιλευσεν εν Θερμοπυλαις, και συνηγε [τ]ους περι τον ορον οικουντας, και ω[νο]μασεν Αμφικτυο-

νας, και Π[υλαια]ν, ὁ[περ] και νυν ετι θυουσιν Αμφικτυονες, [ε]τη ΧΗΗ|Δ'ΠΙΙ, βασιλευοντος Αθηνων Αμφικτυονος.

6. Αφ ὁ Ἑλλην ὁ Δευκ[αλιωνος Φθι]ωτιδος εβασιλευσε, και Ἑλληνες [ων]ομασθησαν, το προτερον Γραικοι καλουμενοι, και τον αγωνα Παν[αθ[η]ναι[κον συνεστησαντο, ετη] ΧΗΗ|Δ'Π, βασιλευοντος Αθηνων Αμφικτυονος.

7. Αφ ὁ Καδμος ὁ Αγηνορος εις Θηβας αφικετο[κατα χρησμον, και] εκτισεν την Καδμειαν, ετη ΧΗΗ|Δ'Π, βασιλευοντος Αθηνων Αμφικτυονος.

8. Αφ ὁ [Ευρωτας και Λακεδαιμων Λακω]νικης εβασιλευσαν, ετη ΧΗΗ|Δ'ΙΙ, βασιλευοντος Αθηνων Αμφικτυονος.

9. Αφ ὁ ναυ[ς πεντ]η[κοντα κωπ]ων εξ Αιγυπτου [ε]ις την Ελλαδα επλευσε, και ωνομασθη Πεντεκοντορος, και αἱ Δαναου θυγατερες . . . . . [Αμυμ]ωνη, και Βα . . . . . λαρευω, και Ελικη, και Αρχεδικη αποκληρωθεισαι ὑπο των λοιπων [ἱερον ιδρυσ]αντ[ο,] και εθυσαν επι της ακτης εμ παρα[λι]αδι εν Λινδῳ της Ῥοδιας, ετη ΧΗΗΔΔΔΔΠΙΙ, βασιλευο[ντος Αθηνων Εριχθονιου.

10. Αφ ὁ Εριχ]θονιος Παναθηναιοις τοις πρωτοις γενομενοις ἁρμα ἐζευξε, και τον αγωνα εδεικνυε, και Αθηναι]α μετω]ν[ομασε, κ]αι [αγαλμα της Θ]εων μητρος εφανη εγ Κυβελοις, και Υαγνις ὁ Φρυξ αυλους πρωτος ἑυρεν εγ Κ[ελαι]ναι[ς τη]ς Φρυγ[ι]ας, [και την αρμονιαν την κ]αλουμενην Φρυγιστι πρωτος ηυλησε, και αλλους νομους Μητρος, Διονυσου, Πανος, και τον επ[ιφωριων Θεων και Ἡρωων,] ετη ΧΗΗΔΔΔΔΙΙ, βασιλευοντος Αθηνων Εριχθονιου του το ἁμμα ζευξαντος.

11. Αφ ὁ Μινως [ὁ] πρ[ωτος ε]βα[σιλευσε, και Κυ]δωνιαν ωκισε, και σιδηρος ηυρεθη εν τη Ιδη, ἑυροντων των Ιδαιων Δακτυλων Κελμιος κ[αι Δαμνανεως, ετη ΧΗ|Δ'ΔΠΙΙΙ, βασι]λευοντος Αθηνων Πανδιονος.

12. Αφ ὁ Δημητηρ αφικομενη εις Αθηνας καρπον εφυ[τε]υεν, και πρ[ος αλλους επεμψε πρ]ωτη δ[ια Τ]ριπτολεμου του Κελεου και Νεαιρας, ετη ΧΗΔΔΔΔΠ, βασιλευοντος Αθηνησιν Εριχθεως.

13. Αφ ὁ Τριπτο[λεμος καρπον] εσπειρεν εν τη Ραριᾳ καλουμενη Ελευσινι, ετη Χ[Η]ΔΔΔΔ[ΙΙ], βασιλευοντος Αθηνων [Εριχθεως.

14. ΑΦ ὁ]ν[Ορφευς την] αυτου ποιησιν εξ[ε]θηκε, Κορης τε ἁρπαγην, και Δημητρος ζητησιν, και την αυτου [καταβασιν, και μυ]θό[υ]ς των ὑποδεξαμενων τον καρπον, ετη ΧΗΔΔΔΠ, βασιλευοντος Αθηναν Εριχθωος.

15. [ΑΦ ἀ Ευμολπος ὁ Μουσαι]ου τα μυστηρια ανεφηνεν εν Ελευσινι, και τας του [πατρος Μ]ουσαιου ποιησ[ει]ς εξεθηκ[εν], ετη ΧΗ . . . βασιλευοντος Αθηνων Εριχθεως του Πανδιονος.

16. ΑΦ ἀ καθαρμος πρωτος εγενετο [δια φον]ου πρωτῳ αον . . . εαντ . . . . . [ετη Χ|Δ']ΔΙΙ, βασιλευοντος Αθηνων Πανδιονος του Κεκροπος.

17. ΑΦ ἀ [ε]ν Ελευσινι ὁ γυμνικος [αγων ετεθη, ετη Χ . . . . . , βασιλευοντος Αθηνων Πανδιονος του Κεκροπος.]

18. ΑΦ ἀ [αἱ ανθρωποθυσι]αι, [και] τα Λυκαια εν Αρκαδια εγενετο, και λ . . κκε . . . . . Λυκαονος εδοθησαν [εν] τοις Ελλ[η]σι[ν, ετ]η [Χ] . . . βασιλευοντος Αθηνων Πανδιονος τοῦ Κεκροπος.

19. ΑΦ ἀ κα[θαρισθεις εν Ελευσιν]ι Ἡρακλης [εμυηθη ξεν]ω[ν πρωτ]ος. [ετη Χ] . . . βασιλευοντος Αθηνησιν Αιγεως.

20. ΑΦ ἀ Αθηνησι [σπανι]ς των καρπων εγενετο, και μαντευομενος [τοις] Αθην[αιοις Απολ]λων ην[αγκασεν δικα]ς υποσχε[ι]ν, α[ς] αμ Μινως αξιωσει, ετη ΧΔΔΔΙ, βασιλευοντος Αθηνων Αιγ[εως.]

21. ΑΦ ἀ Θησ[ευς] Αθηναν τας δωδεκα πολεις εις το αυτο συνωκισεν, και πολιτειαν και την δημοκρατειαν [πρώτος καθεστηκω]ς Αθηνων, τον των Ισθμιων αγωνα εθηκε, Σινιν αποκτεινας, ετη |Π'ΗΗΗΗ|Δ'ΔΔΔΔΠ.

22. Απο της Αμμον[ιας] τη[ς πρωτης, ετη |Η'ΗΗΗΗ|Δ']ΔΔΔΔΙΙ, βασιλευοντος Αθηνων Θησεως.

23. ΑΦ ἀ Αργειοι[σιν] Αδρα[στος ε]βασιλευσ[ε]ν, και τον] αγωνα [ε]ν [Νεμεᾳ,ε]θ[εσ]αν [οἱ Επτα,] ετη |Η'ΗΗΗΗ|Δ'ΔΔΔΠΙΙ, βασιλευοντος Αθηνων Θησεως.

24. ΑΦ ἀ οἱ [Ελλη]νες εις Τροιαν ε[ς]τρατευ]σαντο], ετη |Η'ΗΗΗΗ|Δ'ΙΙΙΙ, βασιλευοντος Αθη[νων Μεν]εσθεως, πρεις και δεκατον ετους.

25. ΑΦ ἀ Τροια ἡλω, ετη |Η'ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΠ, βασιλευοντος Αθηνων

[Μενεσθε]ως, [εικοσου και] δευτερου ετους, μηνος Θ[αργηλιω]νος εβδομη φθινοντος.

26. Αφ ὲ Ορεση[ς εν Σκυθ]ια των αυτο[υ μανιων ιαθη, και Α]γιγισθου θυγατρι [Ηριγ]ον[η ὑπερ Α]γισθου και αυ[τῳ δικη εγενετ]ο εν Αρειου παγω, ἡε Ορεσης ενικησεν [ισων ψεφ]ων[ουσων] ετη ΗΗΗΗΗΔΔΔ[Δ]ΙΙ, βασιλευοντος Αθηναν Δημοφωντος.

27. Αφ ὲ [Σαλαμινα εν] Κυπρῳ Τευκρος ωκισεν, ετη ΗΗΗΗΗΔΔΔ-ΠΙΙ, βασιλευοντος Αθηναν Δημοφωντος.

28. Αφ ὲ Νη[λ]ευς ωκισ[εν εγ Καριᾳ Μιλητον, αγειρας Ιωνας οἱ ωκισ]αν Εφεσον, Ερυθρας, Κλαζομενας, [Πριηνην, και Λεβεδον, Τηω,] Κολοφωνα, [Μ]υουντα, [Φωκαιαν,] Σαμον, [Χιον, και] τα [Παν]ιωνι[α] εγενετο, ετ[η ΗΗΗΗΔΙΙΙ, βασιλευοντος Αθηναν Μενεσθεως πρεις και δεκατου [ε]τους.

29. Αφ ὲ [Ησ]ιοδος ὑ ποιητης [εφαν]η, ετη ΗΗΗΔΔ[Δ, βασιλευοντος Αθηναν] . . .

30. Αφ ὲ Ὁμηρος ὁ ποιητης εφανη, ετη ΗΗΔΔΔΔΙΙΙ, βασιλευοντος Αθηνα[ν Δ]ιογνητου.

31. Αφ ὲ Φ[ει]δων ὁ Αργειος εδημ[ευθη, και μετρα και σταθμα] εσκευασε και νομισμα αργυρουν εν Αιγινη εποιησεν, ενδεκατος ων αφ Ηρακλεους, ετη ΗΗΔΔΔΙ, βασιλευοντος Αθηναν [Μεγακλε]ους.

32. Αφ ὲ Αρχιας Ευαγητου, δεκατος ων απο Τημενου, εκ Κορινθου ηγαγε την αποικιαν [εις] Συρακου[σας, ετη ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΔΙΙΙΙ-βασιλευον]τος Αθηναν Αισχυλου ετους εικοσου και ενος.

33. Αφ ὲ κατ' ενιαυτον ηρ[ξ]εν [Κ]ερ[ε]ων, ετ[η] ΗΗΗΗΔΔ.

34. Αφ ὲ [Λακεδαιμ]ο[νιοις Τ]υ[ρταιος συνεμαχησεν,] ετη ΗΗΗΗ, ΔΠΙΙΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησι Λυσι[ου].

35. Αφ ὲ Τερπανδρος ὁ Δερδενεος ὁ Λεσβιος τους νομους του[ς π]α-[λαι]ων [καιν]ουσθαι αυλη[τας εθε]ληθε, και την εμπροσθε μουσικην μετεστησεν, ετη ΗΗΗΔΔΔΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησιν Δρωπιλου.

36. Αφ ὲ Α[λυαττη]ς Λυδ[ων εβα]σιλευσ[εν, ετη ΗΗΗΔ]ΔΔΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησιν Αριστοκλεους.

37. Αφ ὲ Σαπφω εγ Μιτυληνης εις Σικελιαν επλευσε φυγουσα, ... ολ . . . . . [ετη ΗΗΗΔΔΠΙΙ, αρχοντ]ος Αθηνησι μεν Κριτιου του πρωτερου. εν Συρακουσαις δε των [Γελ]ωνος κατεχοντων την αρχην.

38. [ΑΦ ὲ Αμφικτυονες ενικησαν ελ]θοντες Κυρραν, και ὁ αγων ὁ γυμνικος ετεθη χρηματιτης απο των λαφυρων, ετη ΗΗ[Η]ΔΔΠΙΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησι Σιμω[ν]ος.

39. ΑΦ ὲ [ὁ τεφ]ανιτης αγων παλιν ετεθη, ετη ΗΗΗΔ[Δ]ΙΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησι Δαμασιου του δευτερου.

40. ΑΦ ὲ εν α[πην]αις Κωμω[δαι εφορεθησαν ὑπο] των Ικαριεων, ευροντος Σουσαριωνος, και αθλον ετεθη πρωτον ισχαδων αρσιχο[ς] και οινου [αμφορευς, ετη ΗΗ . . . [αρχοντος Αθηνησι . . . . . .]

41. ΑΦ ὲ Πεισιστρατος Αθηναν ετυραννευσεν, ετη ΗΗ[Δ]ΔΔΔΔΠΙΙ, αρχοντος [Αθηνησ]ι Κ[ωμι]ου.

42. ΑΦ ὲ Κροισος [ἑξ] Ασιας [εις] Δελφο[υ]ς α[πεπεμψεν, ετη ΗΗ[Δ]ΔΔΔΔΙΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησι[ν Ευθυ]δημου.

43. ΑΦ ὲ Κυρος ὁ Περσων βασιλευς Σαρδεις ελαβε, και Κροισον ὑπο [Πυθι]ης σΦαλ[λομενον εζωγρησεν, ετη ΗΗ[Δ]ΔΔΔΙΙΙΙ, αρχοντος Αθηναν Ερξικλειδου. Ην δε] και Ιππωναξ κατα τουτον ὁ Ιαμβοποιος.

44. ΑΦ ὲ Θεσπις ὁ ποιητης [εφανη, πρωτος ὸς και] ειδιδαξε [τραγωδιαν, ἡς αθλον ε]τεθη ὁ [τ]ραγος, ετη ΗΗ[Δ]ΔΔΙΙΙ], αρχοντος Αθ[ηνησιν Αλκ]αιου του προτερου.

45. ΑΦ ὲ Δαρειος Περσων εβασιλευσε, Μαγου τελευτησαντος, ετη [ΗΗ][Δ][Π]Ι, αρχοντος Αθη[νησι] . . . . .

46. ΑΦ ὲ Αρμοδιος και [Αριστογε]ιτων απεκτε[ιναν Ιππα]ρχον Πεισιστρατου Α[θηναν τυραννη]ον, και Αθηναιοι σ[υνανες]ησαν τους Πεισιστρατιδας εκ[βαλλειν του Πελασγικ]ου τειχους, ετη ΗΗΔΔΔΔΠΙΙΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησι [Κλισθενους.]

47. ΛΦ ὲ χοροι πρωτον ηγωνισαντο ανδρων, ὁν διδαξας Ὑπο[δι]κος Χαλκιδε[υς] ενικ[ησεν,] ετη ΗΗΔΔΔ[ΔΙΙΙ,] αρχοντος Αθηνησι[ν Ι]σαγορου.

48. ΑΦ ὲ νε[ως Αθηνας της] Ιππια[ς ιδρυσθη] Αθηνησιν, ετη ΗΗΔΔΔΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησι Πυθοκριτου.

49. ΑΦ ὲ εμ Μαραθωνι μαχη εγενετο Αθηναιοις προς τους Περσας, [και Αρταφερνεα το]ν Δαρειου αδελ[Φιδε]ν, τον στρατηγον ενικων Αθηναιοι, ετη ΗΗΔΔΠΙ, αρχοντος Αθην[ησι του] δευτερου Φαινιππου, και] εν μαχη συνηγωνισατο Αισχυλος ὁ ποιητης, [ετ]ω[ν] ων ΔΔΔΠ.

50. Αφ ὲ Σιμωνιδης ὁ Σιμωνιδου παππος του ποιητου, ποιητης ων και [αυτος, Αθη]νησι, και Δαρειος τελευτα, Ξερξης δε ὁ υἱος βασιλευει, [ετη ΗΗΔ]ΔΠ[Ι], αρχοντος Αθηνησιν Αριστειδου.

51. Αφ ὲ Αισχυλος ὁ ποιητης τραγωδια πρωτον ενικησε, και Ευριπιδης ὁ ποιητης εγενετο, και Στησιχορος ποιητης ε[ις την] Ελλαδα [αφικετ]ο, ετη ΗΗΔΔΙΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησι Φιλοκρατους.

52. Αφ ὲ Ξερξης την σχεδιαν ἑζευξεν εν Ἑλλησποντῳ, και τον Αθω διωρυξε, και ἡ εν Θερμο[πυ]λαις μαχη εγενετο, και ναυμαχια τοις Ελλησι περι Σαλαμινα προς τους Περσας, ἡν ενικων οἱ Ελληνες, ετη ΗΗΔΠΙΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησι Καλλιαδου.

53. Αφ ὲ ἡ εν [Π]λαταιαις μαχη εγενετο Αθηναιοις προς Μαρδονιον τον Ξερξου στρατηγον, ἡν ενικων Αθηναιοι, και Μαρδονιος ετελευτησεν εν τῃ μαχῃ, και το πυρ ερυη[σε εν Σικ]ελιᾳ, περι την Αιτνιαν, ετη Η[Η]ΔΠΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησι Ξανθιππου.

54. Αφ ὲ [Γε]λων ὁ Δεινομενους [Συρακουσων] ετυραννευσεν, ετη ΗΗΔΠ, αρχοντος Αθηνησι Τιμοσθεν[ους.]

55. Αφ ὲ Σιμωνιδης ὁ Λεωπρεπους ὁ Κειος, ὁ το μνημονικον ευρων, ενικησεν Αθηνησιν διδασκων, και αἱ εικονες εσαθησαν Αρμοδιου και Αριστογειτονος, ετη ΗΗ[ΔΙΙΙΙ], αρχοντος Αθηνησι[ν Α]δειμαντου.

56. Αφ ὲ Ἱερων Συρακουσων ετυραννευσεν, ετη ΗΗΠΙ[Ι]Ι, αρχοντος Αθηνησι Χ[αρ]ητος. Ην δε και Επιχαρμος ὁ ποιητης κατα τουτον.

57. Αφ' ὲ Σοφοκλης ὁ Σοφιλλου ὁ εκ Κολωνου ενικησε τραγωδιᾳ, ετων ων ΔΔΠΙΙ, ετη ΗΗΠΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησι Αψηφιονος.

58. Αφ ὲ εν Αιγος ποταμοις ὁ λιθος επεσε, και Σιμωνιδης ὁ ποιητης ετελευτησεν, βιους ετη [Δ]ΔΔΔΔ, ετη ΗΗΠ, αρχοντος Αθηνησιν Θεαγενιδου.

59. Αφ ὲ Αλεξανδρος ετελευτησεν, ὑ δε υἱος Πε[ρ]δικκας Μακεδονων ἑβασιλευει, ετη Η[Δ]ΔΔΔΔΠ[ΙΙΙ,] αρχοντος Αθηνησιν Ευθιππου.

60. Αφ ὲ Αισχυλος ὁ πο[ι]ητης. βιωσας ετη [Δ]ΔΠΙΙΙ, ετελευτησεν εν [Γελ]ᾳ της [Σι]κελιας, ετη Η[Δ]ΔΔΔΔΙΙΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησ[ι] Καλλ[ι]ου του προτερου.

61. Αφ ὲ Ευριπιδης, ετων ων ΔΔΔΔΙΙΙ, τραγωδιᾳ πρωτον ενικησεν, ετη Η[Δ]Δ[ΔΠΙΙΙΙ,] αρχοντος Αθηνησι Διφι[λου. Η]σαν δε κατα Ευριπιδην Σωκρατης, και [Αν]ξαγορας.

62. Αφ ὁ Αρχελαος Μακεδονων εϐασιλευσε Περδικκου τελευτησαντος, ετη Η[|Δ'ΠΙ, αρχ]οντος Αθηνησιν Αςυφιλου.

63. Αφ ὁ Διονυσιος Συρακουσων ετυραννευσεν, ετη ΗΔΔΔΔΙΙΙΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησιν Ευκτημονος.

64. Αφ ὁ Ευριπιδης, ϐι[ωσας ετη |Δ'ΔΔΠΙΙ, ετε]λευτησεν, ετη ΗΔΔΔΔ[ΙΙΙ], αρχοντος Αθηνησιν Αντιγενους.

65. Α[φ] ὁ Σο[φ]οκλης ὁ ποιητης, ϐιωσας ετη [|Δ']ΔΔΔΔΙ, ετελευτησεν, και Κυρος ανεϐ[ησε επι τον αδελφον, ετη ΗΔΔΔΔΙΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησι Καλλια του πρ . τ . . ου.

66. Αφ ὁ Τελεςης Σελ[ινουντιος ε]νικησεν Αθηνησιν, ετη ΗΔΔΔΠ[ΙΙΙ], αρχοντος Αθηνησι Μικωνος.

67. Αφ ὁ [επανηλθον ὁι μετ]α Κυρου αναϐαντες, και Σωκρατης Φιλοσοφ[ο]ς ετελευτησε, [ϐιους] ετη |Δ'ΔΔ, ετη ΗΔΔΔΠ[Ι], αρχοντος Αθηνησι Λαχητος.

68. Αφ ὁ Α[ςυδαμας πρωτον εδιδαξεν] Αθηνησιν, ετη ΗΔΔΔΠ, αρχοντος Αθηνησιν Αριςοκρατους.

69. Αφ ὁ Ε[ανθος ὁ ποιητης Σαρδ]ιανος διθυραμβῳ ενικησεν Αθηνησιν, ετη Η . . [αρχοντος Αθηνησι . . . . . .

70. Αφ] ὁ Φιλοξενος διθυραμϐοποιος τελευτᾳ ϐιους ετη |Δ'Π, ετη ΗΔΠΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησι Πυθεου.

71. Αφ ὁ Αναξανδριδης ὁ κωμ[ωδοποιος ενικησεν Αθηνησιν, ετη ΗΔΙΙΙ, αρχοντος] Αθηνησι Καλλεου.

72. Αφ ὁ Αςυδαμας Αθηνησιν ενικησεν, ετη ΗΠΙΙΙΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησιν Αςειου. Κατεκαη δε τοτε κα[ι εν ουρανῳ ἡ μεγαλη λαμπας.

73. Αφ ὁ εν Λευκτροις μαχη ε]γενετο Θηβαιων και Λακεδαιμωνιων, ἡν ενικων Θηβαιοι, ετη ΗΠΙΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησι Φρασικλειδου. [Κατα τουτον δε και Αλεξανδρος ὁ Αμυντου Μακεδονων] βασιλευει.

74. Αφ ὁ Στησιχορος ὁ Ιμεραιος ὁ δευτερος ενικησεν Αθηνησιν, και ωκισθη Μεγαληπολ[ις εν Αρκαδια, ετη ΗΠΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησι Δυσκινητου.

75. Αφ ὁ Διονυσιος Σικελιωτης ετελευτησεν, ὁ δε υἱος Διονυσιος ετυραννευσεν, και Αλε[ξα]ν[δρου τελευτησαντος Πτολεμαιος Μακεδονων ϐασι]λευει, ετη ΗΙΙΙΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησι Ναυσιγενους.

76. Αφ ὁ Φωκεις το εν Δελφοις [ἱερον εσυλευσαν, ετη |Δ'ΔΔΔΔΠΙΙΙ, αρχοντος Αθην]ησι Κηφισοδωρου.

77. Αφ ὁ Τιμοθεος ϐιωσας ετη $\overline{|\Delta'}$ΔΔΔΔ ετελευτησεν, [ὁ δε Φιλιππος Αμυντου των Μα]κεδονων ϐασιλευει, και Αρτοξερξης ετελευτησεν. Ωχος δε ὁ υἱος ϐ[ασιλευει των Περσων, και] . . . . . ενικησεν, ετη $\overline{|\Delta'}$ΔΔΛΔΙΙΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησιν Αγαθοκλε[ους.

78. Αφ ὁ Αλεξανδρος ὁ Φιλιππου εγε]νετο, ετη $\overline{|\Delta'}$ΔΔΔΔΙ, αρχοντος Αθηνησιν Καλλις[ρατου, ... Ην δε και Αριϛοτελης ὁ φιλο]σοφος κατα τουτο[ν].

79. Αφ ὁ Κα . . . . . ετ[η] $\overline{|\Delta'}$ . . . . αρχοντος . . . . . .

Cætera desiderantur.

TABLE I. THE PARIAN CHRONICLE.

I. PERIOD.

B. C.

* * * * * * I have described pr[eceding times,] begin[n]ing from Cecrops, the first who reigned at Athens, until [Ast]yanax, archon at Paros, and Diognetus at Athens: [ending Ol. 129, 1. B. C. 264.]

1. Since Cecrops reigned at Athens, and the country was called Cecropia, before called Actica, from Actæus the native, MCCCXVIII years - - - 1582
2. Since Deucalion reigned in Lycoria, near Parnassus, Cecrops [re]ign[in]g at Athens, MCCCX years - - 1574
3. Since the trial at Athen[s hap]pened between Mars and Neptune, concerning Halirrothius [the son] of Neptune, and the place was call-Areopagus, MCCLXVIII years: Cr[ana]us reigning at Athens - - 1532
4. Since the deluge happened in the time of Deucalion; and Deucalion fled from the rains, from Lycoria to Athens, unto [Crana]us, and bu[ilt the temp]le of Jupit[er Olympius, and] offered sacrifices for his preservation, MCCLXV years: Cr[a]n[a]us reigning at Athens 1529
5. S[ince Amphi]ctyon [the son] of Deucalion reigned in Thermopylæ, and assembled the people inhabiting that district, and [nam]ed them Amphictyones, and [the place of council] P[ylæa,] w[here] the Amphictyones still

B. C.

sacrifice, MCCLVIII years: Amphictyon reigning at Athens - - 1522

6. Since Hellen [the son] of Deuc[alion] reigned in Phthi]otis, and they were [na]med Hellenes, who before were called Graikoi (Greeks), and [they instituted] the Panathe[næan] games, MCCLVII years: Amphictyon reigning at Athens - - 1521

7. Since Cadmus [the son] of Agenor came to Thebes, [according to the oracle and] built the Cadmea, MCCLV years: Amphictyon reigning at Athens - - 1519

8. Since [Eurotas and Lacedæmon] reigned in [Laco]nia, MCCLII years: Amphictyon reigning at Athens - 1516

9. Since a shi[p with fi]f[ty oar]s sailed from Egypt to Greece, and was called Penteconto-rus; and the daughters of Danaus . . . . . [Amym]one, and Ba . . . . . and Helice and Archedice, elected by the rest, [bu]il[t a temple,] and sacrificed upon the shore at Para[li]as, in Lindus [a city] of Rhodes, MCCXLVII years: Erichthonius reig[ning at Athens] - 1511

10. [Since Erich]thonius, when the Panathenæa were first celebrated, yoked [horses to] a chariot, and exhibited the contest, and [changed the name] of Athenæa; and [the image] of the mother of the [g]ods appeared in [the mountains] of Cybele; and Hyagnis the Phrygian first invented flutes at C[elæ]ne [a city] of Phrygia, and first played on the flute [the harmony] called Phrygian, and other

B. C.

nomes (tunes) of the mother [of the gods] of Dionysus, of Pan, and that of [the divinities of the country, and the heroes,] MCCXLII years: Erichthonius who yoked [horses to] the chariot, reigning at Athens - 1506

11. Since Minos [the] fir[st re]ig[ned] and built [Cy]donia; and iron was found in Ida, by the Idæi Dactuli Celmis [and Damnaneus, MCLXVIII years]: Pandion [reig]ning at Athens - - [1432]

12. Since Ceres coming to Athens pla[nt]ed corn, and first [sent it to other countries] by Triptolemus [the son] of Celeus and Neæra, MCXLV years: Erichtheus reigning at Athens - - 1409

13. Since Tripto[lemus] sowed [corn] in Raria, called Eleusis, M[C]XL[II] years: [Erichthus] reigning at Athens - 1399

14. [Since Orpheus] pub[li]shed his poem [on] the rape of the Virgin [Proserpine,] and the search of Ceres; his [descent to the shades,] and [the fables] concerning those who received the corn, MCXXXV years: Erichtheus reigning at Athens - 1399

15. [Since Eumoplus the son of Musæ]us celebrated the mysteries in Eleusis, and publish-[ed] the po[em]s of h[is father M]usæus, MC . . years: [Erichthe]us [the son] of Pandion [reigning at Athens] - 13 . .

16. Since a lustration was first performed [by slaying . . . . . [ML]XII [years]: Pandion the [son] of Cecrops [the second] reigning at Athens - 1326

17. Since the Gymnastic [Games] were instituted

B. C.

i[n] Eleusis, [M] . . . X . . . years: P[andion the son of Cecrops reigning at Athens] . . . .

18. Since [human sacrific]es [and] the Lycæa were celebrated in Arcadia, and . . . . . of Lycaon were given [among] the Gr[ee]ks, M . . . years: Pandion [the son] of Cecrops reigning at Athens - . . . .

19. Since Hercules, having been pur[ified in Eleusi]s, [was initiated the fir]st of [stran]gers, M . . . [years]: Ægeus reigning at Athens . . . .

20. Since a [scarcity] of corn happened at Athens, and [Apol]lo being consulted by [the] Athen[ians] ob[liged them] to under[g]o [the penalti]es wh[ich] Minos (the second) should require, MXXXI years: Æg[eus] reigning at Athens - - 1295

21. Since Thes[eus] incorporated the twelve cities of Attica into one (community); and [having first establish]ed a civil constitution and a popular government at Athens, he instituted the Isthmian Games, after he had slain Sinis, DCCCCXCV years - - 1259

22. From the first (celebration of the festival called) Ammon, [DCCCCXC]II years: Theseus reigning at Athens - 1256

23. Since Adra[stus r]eign[e]d over the Argi[ves], and [the seven commanders in]st[itut]ed the Games [i]n [Nemea,] DCCCCLXXXVII years: Theseus reigning at Athens - 1251

24. Since the [Gree]ks militated against Troy, DCCCCLIV years: [Men]estheus reigning at Athe[ns], in the thirteenth year (of his reign) - - 1218

25. Since Troy was taken, DCCCCXLV years:

B. C.

[Menesth]eus reigning at Athens, in the (twenty) second year (of his reign), on the twenty-fourth day of the month Th[argelio]n 1209

26. Since Orestes [in Scythi]a was cured of his madness] and [a cause] between hi[m] and [Erig]one, the daughter of [Æ]gisthus, [concerning] (the murder of) Ægisthus, was tried in Areopagus, which Orestes gained, [the vot]es [being equal], [D]CCCCXXX[X]II years: Demophon reigning at Athens 1206

27. Since Teucer built [Salamis in] Cyprus, DCCCCXXXVIII years: Demophon reigning at Athens - 1202

28. Since Ne[l]eus bui[lt Miletus in Caria, having collected the Ionians,] who [bui]lt Ephesus, Erythræ, Clazomene, P[riene and Lebedus, Teos,] Colophon, [M]yus, [Phocea,] Samos, [Chios;] and the [Pan]ioni[a] were instituted, [DCCC]XIII years: Menestheus reigning at Athens, in the thirteenth year [of his reign] - - 1077

29. Since [Hes]iod the poet [flourish]ed, DCLX-X[X] years: ——— [reigning at Athens]

30. Since Homer the poet flourished, DCXLIII years: Diognetus reigning at Athen[s] 907

31. Since Ph[ei]don the Argive was pros[cribed], and made [measures and weights,] and coined silver money in Ægina, being the eleventh from Hercules, DCXXXI years: [Megacl]es reigning at Athens - 895

II. Period.

B. C.

32. Since Archias [the son] of Evagetus, being the tenth from Temenus, conducted a colony from Corinth [to] Syracu[se, CCCCXCIV years:] Æschylus [reign]ing at Athens, in the twenty-first year [of his reign] - 758

33. Since [C]r[e]on was annual Ar[ch]on, CCCCXX years - 684

34. Since [Tyrtæus with the Lacedem]o[nians fought against the Messenians] CCCCXVIII years: Lysi[as] being Archon at Athens 682

35. Since Terpander [the son] of Derdeneus the Lesbian, [dire]cted the flute-pl[ayers] to [re-f]orm the tunes of the [An]ci[ents,] and changed the old musie, CCCLXXXI years: Dropilus being Archon at Athens 645

36. Since A[lyatte]s reigned in [Lydi]a, [CCC-X]LI years: Aristocles being Archon at Athens - - 605

37. Since Sappho sailed from Mitylene to Sicily, flying ..... [CCCXXVIII years]: Critias the first [being Arch]on at Athens; the [Geo]-mori possessing the government in Syracuse 592

38. [Since the Amphictyones conquered, having in]vaded Cyrrha, and the Gymnastic games were celebrated, the prize being allotted out of the spoils, CC[C]XXVII years: Simo[n] being Archon at Athens - 591

39. Since [the Gymnastic] games were again celebrated, [in which the prize was a cro]wn,

B. C.

CCCX[X]II years: Damasias the second, being Archon at Athens - 586

40. Since Come[dies were carried in car]ts [by] the Icarians, Susarion being the inventor, and the first prize proposed was a bask[et] of figs, and a small vessel of wine, CC . . . . . [years: . . . . .] being Archon at Athens - 57.

41. Since Pisistratus became tyrant at Athens, CCXCVII years: C[omi]as being Archon at Athens - - 561

42. Since Crœsus s[ent ambassadors out] of Asia [to] Delph]i, CCX]CII [years: Euthy]demus being Archon at Athens - 556

43. Since Cyrus, king of Persia, took Sardis, and [apprehended] Crœsus, who was de[ceived by the [Pyth]ia, [284 years]: Er[xiclides being Archon at Athens] - [548]

At this time [lived] Hipponax, the Iambic poet.

44. Since Thespis the poet [flourished, the first who] taught (or exhibited) [tragedy,] for which a [g]oat was [ap]pointed [as the prize,] CCL[XXIII] years: [Alc]æus the first being Archon at Ath[ens] - [537]

45. Since Darius reigned over the Persians, (Smerdis) Magus being dead, [CC]L[VI] years: . . . . . being Archon at Athe[ns] [520]

46. Since Harmodius and [Aristoge]iton sle[w Hippa]rchus [the son] of Pisistratus, [the tyra]nt of A[thens], and the Athenians co[nspir]ed to ex[pel] the Pisistratidæ [from their retreat within the Pelasgi]c wall, CCXLVIII years: [Clisthenes] being Archon at Athens 512

B. C.

47. Since choruses of men first contended, [and] Hypo[di]cus the Chalcidi[an], having taught one [of them] gained the vict[ory], CCXL-[IV] years: [I]sagoras being Archon at Athens - - 508

48. Since the temp[le of Minerva] Hippia [was built] at Athens, CCXXXI years: Pythocritus being Archon at Athens 495

49. Since the battle at Marathon was fought by the Athenians against the Persians, [and] the Athenians defeated [Artaphernes, th]e nep[hew] of Darius, who commanded (of the Persian forces,) CCXXVII years: [Phænippus] the second being Archon at Athens. In which battle Æschylus the poet fought, being [then] XXXV [y]ear[s of age] 491

50. Since Simonides, the grand-father of Simonides the poet, being also himself a poet, (dies) at Athens; and Darius dies, and Xerxes [his] son reigns, CCX[XV]I years: Aristides being Archon at Athens - 490

51. Since Æschylus the poet first gained the victory in tragedy, and Euripides the poet was born, and Stesichorus the poet [went into] Greece, CCXXII years: Philocrates being Archon at Athens - - 486

52. Since Xerxes joined together a bridge of boats on the Hellespont, and dug through (mount) Athos, and the battle was fought at Thermopylæ, and the sea-fight by the Greeks at Salamis, against the Persians, in which the Greeks were victorious, CCXVII years: Calliades being Archon at Athens 481

B. C.

53. Since the battle at [P]latæa was fought by the Athenians against Mardonius, the general of Xerxes, in which the Athenians conquered, and Mardonius fell in the battle; and fire flowed [in Sic]ily round Ætna, C[C]XVI years: Xantippus being Archon at Athens 480
54. Since [Ge]lon [the son] of Dinomenes became tyrant [of Syracuse,] CCXV years: Timosthen[es] being Archon at Athens 479
55. Since Simonides [the son] of Leoprepes the Cean, who invented the art of memory, teaching [a chorus] at Athens, gained the victory; and the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton were erected, CC[XIV] years: [A]dimantus being Archon at Athens 47[8]
56. Since Hiero became tyrant of Syracuse, CCVI[I]I years: Ch[ar]es being archon at Athens. Epicharmus the poet lived also at this time 472
57. Since Sophocles [the son] of Sophillus, who was of Colonus, (about ten stadia from Athens, Thucyd. 8, 67) gained the victory in tragedy, being XXVIII years of age, CCVI years: Apsephion being Archon at Athens 470
58. Since the stone fell in Ægos-potamus; and Simonides the poet died, having lived XC years, CCV years: Theagenidas being Archon at Athens 469
59. Since Alexander died, and his son Pe[r]diccas reigns over the Macedonians, CXCV[III] years: Euthippus being Archon at Athens 462
60. Since Æschylus the poet, having lived LXIX years, died at [Gel]a in [Si]cily, CXCIII

B. C.

years: Call[i]as the first being Archon at Athens - - 457

61. Since Euripides, being XLIII years of age, first gained the victory in tragedy, CLX[XIX] years: Diphilus being Archon at Athens. With Euripides, Socrates, and [Ana]xagoras were contemporaries - [443]

62. Since Archelaus reigned over the Macedonians, Perdiccas being dead, C[LVI] years: Astyphilus [being Arch]on at Athens [420]

63. Since Dionysius became tyrant of Syracuse, CXLIV years: Euctemon being Archon at Athens - - 408

64. Since Euripides, having liv[ed LXXVII years, di]ed, CLX[III] years: Antigenes being Archon at Athens - 407

65. Since So[ph]ocles the poet, having lived [XC]I years, died, and Cyrus we[nt up into Persia, against his brother,] CLXII years: Callias the first being [Ar]chon at Athens 406

66. Since Telestes the Seli[nuntian ga]ined the prize at Athens, CXXX[VIII] years: Micon being Archon at Athens - 402

67. Since [those returned] who went up [wit]h Cyrus [into Persia,] and Socrates the philoso-ph[e]r, [having lived] LXX years, died CXXXV[I] years: Laches being Archon at Athens - - 400

68. Since A[stydamas first taught] at Athens, CXXXV years: Aristocrates being Archon at Athens - - 399

69. Since X[anthus, a poet of Sard]is, gained the victory in dithyrambics, C . . . years: . . . . being Archon at Athens - . . .

B. C.

70. [Sin]ce Philoxenus, a writer of dithyrambics, having lived LV years, dies, CXVI years: Pytheas being Archon at Athens 380

71. Since Anaxandrides, the comic [poet, gained the victory at Athens, CXIII years:] Calleas [being Archon] at Athens - - 377

72. Since Astydamas gained the victory at Athens, CIX years: Asteius being Archon at Athens. Then also [the great light] (or comet) blazed [in the sky.] - -

73. [Since the battle at Leuctra] was fought between the Thebans and Lacedæmonians, in which the Thebans conquered, CVII years: Phrasiclides being Archon at Athens. [At this time, Alexander, the son of Amyntas] reigns [over the Macedonians] - 371

74. Since Stesichorus the Himerian, the second of [that name,] gained the victory at Athens; and Megalopol[is in Arcadia] was built, [CVI years: Dyscinetus being Archon at Athens] [370]

75. Since Dionysius, the Sicilian, died, and his son Dionysius became tyrant, and Ale[xa]n-[der being dead, Ptolemy rei]gns [over the Macedonians,] CIV years: Nausigenes being Archon at Athens - 368

76. Since the Phoceans [plundered the temple] of Delphi, XCIV [years:] Cephisodorus [being Archon at Athe]ns - 358

77. Since Timotheus, having lived XC years, died; [and Philip, the son of Amyntas,] reigns [over the Ma]cedonians; and Artaxerxes died; and Ochus his son r[eigns over the Persians; and] . . . . . gained the vic-

B. C.

tory; XCIII years: Agathocle[s] being Archon at Athens - - 357

78. [Since Alexander, the son of Philip, was bo]rn, XCI years: Callist[ratus] being Archon at Athens. . . . . [Aristotle the philo]sopher lived also at that [time] - 355

79. Since Ca[lippus, having slain Dion, became tyrant of Syracuse, XC year]s: [Diotimus being Archon at Athens] - - 354

* * *

TABLE II.

RECTIFICATION OF THE PARIAN CHRONICLE, ACCORDING TO DR HALES.

I. Period.

B. C.

1. Cecrops, first king of Athens, began to reign 1558
2. Deucalion reigns in Lycoria, near Parnassus, in the ninth year of Cecrops - 1549
3. Trial of Mars at the Areopagus, for killing Halirrhothius, the son of Neptune, in the second year of Cranaus - - 1507
4. Deucalion's flood, flight to Athens, and sacrifice, in the fourth year of Cranaus - 1504
5. The Amphictyons collected by Amphictyon, son of Deucalion, and their assembly at Thermopylæ, in the third year of Amphictyon, king of Athens - - - 1497

B. C.

6. The Greeks, called Hellenes, from Hellen, son of Deucalion, and king of Phthiotis, in the fourth year of Amphictyon - 1496
7. The Cadmia, or citadel at Thebes, built by Cadmus, the son of Agenor, who came from Phœnicia, in the sixth year of Amphictyon 1494
8. [Eurotas and Lacedæmon] reign in Laconia, in the ninth year of Amphictyon - 1491
9. Flight of Danaus and his fifty daughters, from Egypt to Lyndus, in Rhodes, in the fourth year of Erichthonius - - 1486
10. Erichthonius institutes the chariot-race at the first celebration of the Panathenean games, in the ninth year of his reign - 1481
11. Minos the first reigns in Crete; iron found there by the Dactyli, in the [thirty-third] year of Pandion - - [1407]
12. Ceres teaches the sowing of corn at Athens, and
13. Triptolemus at Eleusis, in the sixteenth year of Erichtheus - - 1384
14. The poem of Orpheus, on the rape of Proserpine, published in the twenty-sixth year of Erichtheus - - 1374
15. The Eleusinian mysteries celebrated by Eumolpus - - ....
16. The Lustration first instituted, in the ninth year of Pandion II. - - 1301
17. The Gymnastic games instituted at Eleusis ....
18. The Lycean rites instituted in Arcadia, in the —— year of Pandion II. - ....
19. Since Hercules [was initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries] in the [first] year of Ægeus - [1284]
20. A tribute of youths and virgins imposed on the

B. C.

Athenians, according to the Oracle, by Minos II. king of Crete, in the fifteenth year of Ægeus - - 1270

21. Theseus collected the inhabitants of Attica to Athens, and instituted a popular government in the second year of his own reign - 1234

22. First celebration of the festival called Ammon, in the fifth of Theseus - 1231

23. Since the [Nemean] games were instituted at Athens, in the tenth year of Theseus 1226

24. The expedition of the Greeks against Troy, in the thirteenth year of Menestheus 1193

25. Troy taken by the Greeks on the twenty-fourth day of Thargelion, in the twenty-second year of Menestheus, and twenty-fourth day of the month Thargelion - 1184

26. Since the trial of Orestes for killing Ægisthus, at the Areopagus, in the second year of Demophon - - 1181

27. Teucer founds Salamis in Cyprus, in the sixth year of Demophon - - 1177

28. Athenian colonies planted in Ionia by Neleus, &c. namely, Ephesus, Erythræ, Clazomenæ, &c. in the eighth year of Acastus, according to Eusebius, and in the 140th year after the destruction of Troy, according to Eratosthenes 1043

29. Hesiod, the poet, flourished in the [fourth] year of Megacles, the perpetual Archon [919]

30. Homer, the poet, flourished in the ninth year of Diognetus, the perpetual Archon 884

31. Phidon, king of the Argives, coined silver money at Ægina, in the twenty-third year of Diognetus - - - 870

II. PERIOD.

	B. C.
32. Græcian colonies planted in Sicily by Archias, the Corinthian, at Syracuse, &c. in the twenty-first year of Æschylus, the perpetual Archon	758
33. Creon, the first of the annual Archons	684

N. B.—These two dates are perfectly correct, and so are the remaining dates, for the most part: it is therefore unnecessary to repeat them. Next follows Table III. by comparing which with Table I. this Table II. was constructed.

TABLE III. ATHENIAN KINGS AND ARCHONS.

KINGS.

		B. C.			B. C.
1. Cecrops	50	1558	10. Theseus	30	1236
2. Cranaus	9	1508	11. Menestheus	23	1206
3. Amphictyon	10	1499	12. Demophon	33	1183
4. Erichthonius	50	1489	13. Oxyntes	12	1150
5. Pandion	40	1439	14. Aphidas	1	1138
6. Erichtheus	50	1399	15. Thymætes	8	1137
7. Cecrops II.	40	1349	16. Melanthius	37	1129
8. Pandion II.	25	1309	17. Codrus	21	1092
9. Ægeus	48	1284	Interregnum	1	1071

PERPETUAL ARCHONS.

		B. C.			B. C.
1. Medon	20	1070	8. Pherecles	19	865
2. Acastus	36	1050	9. Ariphron	20	846
3. Archippus	19	1014	10. Thespieus	27	826
4. Thersippus	41	995	11. Agamestor	20	799
5. Phorbas	31	954	12. Æschylus	23	779
6. Megacles	30	923	13. Alcmeon	2	756
7 Diognetus	28	893			

Decennial Archons.

	B. C.		B. C.
1. Charops -	10 754	5. Leocrates -	10 714
2. Æsimedes -	10 744	6. Apsandrus -	10 704
3. Clidicus -	10 734	7. Elyxias, or Eryxias	10 694
4. Hipponeus -	10 724		

Annual Archons.

	B. C.		B. C.
Creon - -	684	Eucrates -	*Diogen.* 592
* *		Simon -	*Par M.* 591
Lysias -	*Par M.* 682	* *	
Tlesias - -	681	Phænippus -	588
* *		* *	
Leostratus	671	Damasius II.	*Par M.* 582
* *		* *	
Autosthenes	*Pausan.* 668	Pentathlus -	580
* *		* *	
Archimedes	*Pausan.* 664	Archestratides	*D. Hal.* 577
* *		* *	
Miltiades -	*Pausan.* 659	Aristomenes	*Diogen.* 570
* *		* *	
Dropsilus	*Par M.* 645	Comias -	566
* *		* *	
Epenetius	*Antigon.* 635	Hippoclides	*Marcell.* 562
* *		Comias -	*Par. M.* 561
Draco -	*Euseb.* 624	Hegesistratus	*Plut.* 560
* *		* *	
Henochides -	616	† Euthydemus,	*Par. M. Laer.* 556
* *		* *	
Aristocles -	*Par. M.* 605	Erxiclides	*Paus.* 548
Critias - -	604	* *	
* *		Alcæus I.	*Par. M.* 537
Megacles -	*Plut.* 600	Athenæus -	536
* *		Hipparchus -	535
Philombrotus -	*Plut.* 595	* *	
Critias I. -	*Par. M.* 594	Heraclides -	533
Dropides	*Philostrat.* 593	* *	

		B. C.
Miltiades	*D. Hal.*	524
Clisthenes	*Par. M.*	512
† Lysagoras	*Par M.*	508
Isagoras	*D. Hal.*	
Acestorides	*D. Hal.*	504
Myrus	*D. Hal.*	500
Hipparchus	*D. Hal.*	496
Pythocrates	*Par. M.*	495
Philippus	*Schol. Soph.*	494
Themistocles	*Sigon.*	493
Diognetus	*D. Hal.*	492
Hybrilides	*Dion.*	491
Phænippus	*Plut.*	490
† Aristides	*Par. M. Plut.*	489
Anchises	*D. Hal.*	488
Phænippus		487
Philocrates	*Par. M.*	486
Phædon		485
Leostratus	*D. Hal.*	484
Nicodemus	——	483
Achepsion	*Lacrt.*	482
† Calliades	*Herod. Par. M.*	481
Callias	*Diod.*	480
Xantippus	——	479
Timosthenes	——	478
Adimantus	——	477
Phædon	——	476
Dromoclides	——	475
Acestorides	——	474
Menon	——	473
† Chares	*Par. M. D. Hal.*	472
Praxiergus	*D. Hal.*	471
Apsephion	*Par. M.*	470
Phædon	*Diod.*	469

		B. C.
† Theagenidas,	*P. M. D. Hal.*	468
Lysistratus	*Diod.*	467
Lycanias	——	466
Lysitheus	*Diod.*	465
Archidemides	*D. Hal.*	464
Euthippus	*Par. M.*	463
Conon	*Diod.*	462
† Euhippus	*Par. M. Diod.*	461
Phrasiclides	*Diod.*	460
Philocles	——	459
Bion	——	458
Callias I.	*Par. M.*	457
Callias	*Diod.*	456
Sosistratus	——	455
Ariston	——	454
Lysicrates	——	453
Chæriphanes	*D. Hal.*	452
Antidotus	——	451
Euthydemus	*Diod.*	450
Pediæus	*D. Hal.*	449
Philiscus	——	448
Timarchides	*Diod.*	447
Callimachus	——	446
Lysimachides	——	443
Praxiteles	*D. Hal.*	444
Lysanias	*Diod.*	443
† Diphilus	*Par. M. Diod. D. Hal.*	442
Timocles	*Diod.*	441
Myrichides	——	440
Glaucides	——	439
Theodorus	——	438
Euthymenes	——	437
Lysimachus	——	436
Anchilochides	——	435
Chares	——	434
Apseudes	——	433
Pythodorus	——	432
Euthydemus	——	431

		B. C.
	Apollodorus	*Diod.* 430
	Epaminon	—— 429
	Diotimus	—— 428
	Euclides	—— 427
	Euthydemus	426
	Stratocles	*Diod.* 425
	Isarchus	—— 424
	Amynias	—— 423
	Alcæus	—— 422
	Aristion	—— 421
†	Astyphylus	*Par. M. Diod.* 420
	Archias	*Diod.* 419
	Antipho	—— 418
	Euphemus	—— 417
	Aristomnestrus	—— 416
	Chabrias	—— 415
	Pisander	—— 414
	Cleocritus	—— 413
	Callias	—— 412
	Glaucippus	—— 410
†	Euctemon	*Par. M. Diod.* 408
†	Antigenes	—— 407
†	Callias	—— 406
	Alexias	*Diod.* 405
	Pithodorus	—— 404
	Myco	*Par. M.* 403
	Euclides	*Diod.* 402
	Xenenetus	*Diog. in Xenoph.* 401
†	Laches	*Par. M. Diod.* 400
†	Aristocrates	—— 399
	Ithycles	*Diod.* 398
	Lysiades	—— 397
	Phormio	—— 396
	Diophantus	—— 395
	Eubulides	—— 394
	Arches	—— 393
	Philocles	—— 392
	Nicoteles	—— 391
	Demostratus	—— 390
	Antipater	—— 389
	Pyrrhio	*Diod.* 388
	Theodotus	—— 387
	Mystichides	—— 386
	Dexitheus	—— 385
	Diotrephes	—— 384
	Phanostratus	—— 383
	Menander	—— 382
	Demophilus	—— 381
†	Pytheas	*Par M. Diod.* 380
	Nicon	*Diod.* 379
	Nausinicus	—— 378
†	Calleas	*Par. M. Diod.* 377
	Chariander	*Diod.* 376
	Hippodamus	—— 375
	Socratides	—— 374
†	Asteius	*Par. M. Diod.* 373
	Aristæus	*Aristot.* 373
	Alcesthenes	*Diod.* 372
†	Phrasiclides	*P. M. Diod.* 371
	Dysnicetus	*Diod.* 370
	Lysistratus	—— 369
†	Nausigenes	*Par. M. Diod.* 368
	Polyzelus	*Diod.* 367
	Cephisodorus	—— 366
	Chion	—— 365
	Timocrates	—— 364
	Chariclides	—— 363
	Melio	—— 362
	Nicophemus	—— 361
	Callimedes	—— 360
	Eucharistus	—— 359
†	Cephisodorus	*Par. M. Diod.* 358
†	Agathocles	—— 357
	Elpinous	*Diod.* 356
†	Callistratus	*Par. M. Diod.* 355
	Dictimus	*Diod.* 354
	Eudemus	—— 353
	Aristodemus	—— 352
	Thessalus	—— 351
	Apollodorus	—— 350

	B. C.		B. C.
Callimachus	*Diod.* 349	Praxibulus	*Diod.* 315
Theophilus	—— 348	Nicodorus	—— 314
Themistocles	—— 347	Theophrastus	—— 313
Archias	—— 346	Polemo	—— 312
Eubulus	—— 345	Simonides	—— 311
Lyciscus	—— 344	Hieromnemon	—— 310
Pythodorus	—— 343	Demetrius Phal.	—— 309
Sosigenes	—— 342	Charinus	—— 308
Nicomachus	—— 341	Anaxicrates	—— 307
Theophrastus	—— 340	Chorœbus	—— 306
Lysimachides	—— 339	Xenippus	—— 305
Charondas	—— 338	Phærecles	—— 304
Phrynicus	—— 337	Leostratus	—— 303
Pythodorus	—— 336	Nicocles	—— 302
Evænetus	—— 335	Calliarchus	—— 301
Ctesicles	—— 334	Hegemachus	300
Nicocrates	—— 333	Euctemon	299
Niceratus	—— 332	Mnesidemus	298
Aristophanes	—— 331	Antiphates	297
Aristophon	—— 330	Nicias	296
Cephisophon	—— 329	Nicostratus	295
Euthycritus	—— 328	Olympiodorus	294
Chremes	—— 327	Philippus	293
Anticles	—— 326	* *	
Sosicles	—— 325	Philippus	287
Hegesias	—— 324	* *	
Cephisodorus	—— 323	Gorgias	*Plut.* 280
Philocles	—— 322	Anaxicrates	279
Apollodorus	—— 321	Democles	278
Nearchmus	—— 320	* *	
Apollodorus	—— 319	Pytharatus	*Cicero.* 271
Archippus	—— 318	* *	
Demogenes	—— 317	Diognetus	*Par. M.* 264
Democlides	—— 316		

In order that the reader may be supplied with all the elements of computation usually employed by writers on Grecian history, I farther transcribe from the work of Dr Hales a table of the Olympiads.

These celebrated games were originally instituted in honour of Jupiter Olympius, by the Phrygian Pelops, who settled in the Grecian peninsula, called from him Peloponnesus, about B.C. 1350, according to the Parian Chronicle. They were repeated by the Theban Hercules, about B.C 1325, and, after a long interruption, restored in part by Iphitus, king of Elis, and celebrated at Olympia, on the banks of the river Alpheus, B.C. 884, according to the most probable account. However, the Vulgar Era of the Olympiads did not commence till 108 years after, July 19, B.C. 776. From which time they were regularly continued every four years complete, or fifth year current, and lasted for five days, on each of which were celebrated the different games of *leaping, running, throwing the discus, darting*, and *wrestling*; the last day fell on the first full moon after the summer solstice, and the next day the prizes were awarded.*

The following Table gives the first year of each Olympiad, and the victor in the Stadium, or foot-race: whence the second, third, and fourth years are easily found.

IV. TABLE OF OLYMPIADS.

OLYM.	B. C.	OLYM.	B. C.
1. Chorœbus, Eliens.	776	9. Xenocles, Messen.	744
2. Antimachus, Eliens.	772	10. Dotades, Messen.	740
3. Androcles, Messen.	768	11. Leochares, Messen.	736
4. Polychares, Messen.	764	12. Oxythemis, Coron.	732
5. Æschines, Messen.	760	13. Diocles, Corinth.	728
6. Œbotas, Dumæus	756	14. Damon, Corinth.	724
7. Daicles, Messen.	752	15. Orsippus, Megar.	720
8. Anticles, Messen.	748	16. Pythagoras, Lacon.	716

* Επει εν τη παγκλινη ὁ Ολυμπιακος αγων αγεται, και τη εκκαιδεκατη γινεται κρισις.—*Schol. in Pindar.* od. 3.

OLYM.	B. C.	OLYM.	B. C.
17. Polus, Epidaur.	712	55. Hippostratus	560
18. Tellis, Sicyon.	708	56. Phædrus, Pharsal.	556
19. Menon, Megar.	704	57. Ladromus, Lacon.	552
20. Atherades, Lacon.	700	58. Diognetus, Croton.	548
21. Pantacles, Athen.	696	59. Archilochus, Corcyr.	544
22. Pantacles	692	60. Appellæus, Elieus.	540
23. Icarius, Hyper.	688	61. Agatharcus, Corcyr.	536
24. Cleoptolemes, Lacon.	684	62. Eryxidas, Chaleid.	532
25. Thalpius, Lacon.	680	63. Parmenides, Camar.	528
26. Calisthenes, Lacon.	676	64. Evander, Thessal.	524
27. Eurybates, Lacedæm.	672	65. Apochas, Tarent.	520
28. Charmes, Lacon.	668	66. Ischyrus, Himer.	516
29. Chionis, Lacedæm.	664	67. Phanas, Pellin.	512
30. Chionis	660	68. Ischomachus, Croton.	508
31. Chionis	656	69. Ischomachus	504
32. Cratinus, Megar.	652	70. Nicoras, Opunt.	500
33. Gyges, Lacon.	648	71. Tisicrates, Croton.	469
34. Stomas, Athen.	644	72. Tisicrates	492
35. Sphærus, Lacon.	640	73. Astylus, Croton.	488
36. Phrynon, Athen.	636	74. Astyllus, Syracus.	484
37. Euryclidas, Lacon.	632	75. Suchus, Syracus.	480
38. Olyntheus, Lacon.	628	76. Scamander, Mitylen.	476
39. Ripsoleus, Laced.	624	77. Dates, Arg.	472
40. Olyntheus	620	78. Parmenides, Post.	468
41. Cleonidas, Theban.	616	79. Xenophon, Corinth.	464
42. Lycotas, Lacon.	612	80. Torymbas, Thessal.	460
43. Cleon, Epidaur.	608	81. Polymnastus, Cyren.	456
44. Gelo, Lacon.	604	82. Lycus, Thessal.	452
45. Anticratis, Epidaur.	600	83. Criso, Himer.	448
46. Chrysomaxus, Lacon.	596	84. Criso	444
47. Eurycles, Lacon.	592	85. Criso	440
48. Glaucias, Croton.	588	86. Theopompus, Thessal.	436
49. Lycinus, Croton.	584	87. Sophron, Ambrac.	432
50. Epitelides, Lacon.	580	88. Symmachus, Messen.	428
51. Eratosthenes, Croton.	576	89. Symmachus	424
52. Agis, Elieus.	572	90. Hyperbius, Syracus.	420
53. Agnon, Pepareth.	568	91. Exaginetus, Agrigent.	416
54. Hippostratus, Croton.	564	92. Exaginetus	412

OLYM.	B. C.	OLYM.	B. C.
93. Eubatos, Cyren.	408	131. Ammonius, Alex.	256
94. Crocynas, Lariss.	404	132. Xenophanes, Ætol.	252
95. Minos, Athen.	400	133. Symilus, Neapol.	248
96. Eupolemus, Eliens.	396	134. Alcidas, Lacon.	244
97. Terinæus, Eliens.	392	135. Eraton, Ætolus	240
98. Sosippus, Athen.	388	136. Pythocles, Sicyon.	236
99. Dicon, Syracus.	384	137. Menestheus	232
100. Dionysiodorus, Tarent.	380	138. Demetrius	228
101. Damon, Thuri.	376	139. Iolaidas, Argiv.	224
102. Damon	372	140. Zopyrus, Syracus.	220
103. Pythostratus, Athen.	368	141. Dorotheus, Rhod.	216
104. Eubotas, Cyren.	364	142. Crates, Alexand.	212
105. Porus, Cyren.	360	143. Heraclitus, Sam.	208
106. Donis, Maliens.	356	144. Heraclides, Salam.	204
107. Smicrinas, Tarent.	352	145. Pyrrhias, Ætol.	200
108. Polycles, Cyren.	348	146. Micion, Boeotius	196
109. Aristolochus, Athen.	344	147. Agemachus	192
110. Anticles, Athen.	340	148. Acesilaus	188
111. Cleomantis, Clitor.	336	149. Hippostratus	184
112. Gryllus, Chalcid.	332	150. Onesicritus, Salam.	180
113. Cliton, Macedon.	328	151. Thymelus, Aspend.	176
114. Micinas, Rhodius	324	152. Democritus, Megar.	172
115. Damasias, Amphipol.	320	153. Aristander, Lesb.	168
116. Demosthenes, Lacon.	316	154. Leonidas, Rhod.	164
117. Parmeno, Mitylen.	312	155. Leonidas	160
118. Andromenes, Corinth.	308	156. Leonidas	156
119. Andromenes	304	157. Leonidas	152
120. Pythagoras, Magnes.	300	158. Orthon, Syracus.	148
121. Pythagoras	296	159. Alcimus, Cyzic.	144
122. Antigonus, Maced.	292	160. Diodorus, Sicyon.	140
123. Antigonus	288	161. Antipater, Epir.	136
124. Philomelus, Pharsal.	284	162. Damon, Delph.	132
125. Ladas, Ægiacus	280	163. Timotheus, Trall.	128
126. Idæus, or Nicator	276	164. Boetus, Sicyon.	124
127. Perigenes, Alexand.	272	165. Acusilaus, Cyren.	120
128. Seleucus, Maced.	268	166. Chrysogonus, Nicen.	116
129. Philinus, Cous.	264	167. Chrysogonus,	112
130. Philinus	260	168. Nicomachus, Philadelph.	108

OLYM.	B. C.	OLYM.	B. C.
169. Nicomachus, Laced.	104	190. Rufidius, Patr.	20
170. Simmias, Seleuc.	100	191. Diodotus, Tyan.	16
171. Parmeniscus, Corcyr.	96	192. Diophanes, Æol.	12
172. Eudamus, Cous	92	193. Artemidorus, Thyat.	8
173. Parmeniscus	88	194. Damaratus, Ephes.	4
174. ———	84		
175. Epænetus, Arg.	80		A. D.
176. Dio, Cyparis.	76	195. Damaratus	1
177. Hecatomnus, Milet.	72	196. Pammenes, Magnes.	5
178. Diocles, Hypep.	68	197. Asiaticus, Halicar.	9
179. Andreas, Laced.	64	198. Diophanes, Prus.	13
180. Andromachus, Ambrac.	60	199. Æschines, Miles.	17
181. Lamachus, Tauron.	56	200. Polemon, Petræus	21
182. Anthestion, Argiv.	52	201. Damasias, Cydon.	26
183. Theodorus, Messen.	48	202. Hermogenes, Pergam.	29
184. Theodorus	44	203. Apollonius, Epidaur.	33
185. Ariston, Thur.	40	204. Serapion, Alex.	37
186. Scamander, Alex.	36	205. Eubulidas, Laod.	41
187. Sopator, Argiv.	32	206. Valerius, Mitylen.	45
188. ———	28	207. Athenodorus, Ægin.	49
189. Asclepiades, Sidon.	24	208. Athenodorus	53

Having laid before the reader the most approved standards of ancient chronology, by a reference to which he may determine the order and succession of the principal events which occupy the pages of the Greek historians, I now proceed to give such an abridgment of the narrative which is supplied by these writers, as may suffice for connecting, at least in point of time, the annals of the early inhabitants of Greece, with those of the Hebrew people.

It has been already mentioned, that the country just named, as well as Macedonia and Thrace, owed the knowledge of art, and the first refinements of social life, to the various classes of settlers who had emigrated from Egypt and Syria. But it is not to be imagined that, until the time of the Phenician adventurers, no wandering hordes

had crossed over from Asia, to seek for food and a dwelling-place among the rich valleys and green hills of Thessaly and Achaia. At a much earlier period, it is supposed, the descendants of Japhet took possession of the eastern parts of Europe; where, like the kindred tribes whom they had left in the Syrian plains, they earned the means of life by pursuing game and feeding their flocks. Unacquainted with letters, they left no memorials by which their lineage, their migration, their numbers, or their fortunes, could be preserved from oblivion; and it is only from the scattered lights of a most imperfect tradition the historical reader can discover that, before the days of Inachus, Deucalion, and Ogyges, a race of shepherds and huntsmen had taken possession of the country, which they appear to have occupied in common. But at length the Pelasgi, a people whose origin cannot be completely ascertained, succeeded the rude inhabitants on both sides of the Corinthian isthmus, and laid the foundation of several kingdoms and cities, the names of which continue unto the present day.

We are informed by Castor that Sicyon was esteemed the most ancient state in Greece, and that her kings were the first to exercise authority in Peloponnesus.* The oldest of them was Ægialeus, from whom the country derived its original appellation; and who is said to have been contemporary with Nahor and Terah, the immediate ancestors of Abraham. Syncellus relates that the Sicyonian kingdom began in the sixty-seventh year of the former of these patriarchs, or about 2170 years before the Christian

* *Syncell. Chron.* p. 97. παρατιθεμεν δε και τους Σικωνας βασιλευσαντας αρχομενους μεν απο Αιγιαλεως του πρωτου βασιλευσαντος.

Σικυωνιοι δε περι της χωρας της σφετερας λεγουσιν· ως Αιγιαλευς αυτοχθων πρωτος εν αυτη γενοιτο, και Πελοποννησου δε οσον ετι και νυν καλειται Αιγιαλος απ' εκεινου βασιλευοντος ονομασθηναι, και Αιγιαλειαν αυτον οικισαντα πρωτον εν τω πεδιω πολιν.—*Pausan. Corinth.* p. 49.

era. Eusebius agrees in this date; but with him the seventy-sixth year of Nahor corresponds with the year B. C. 2089, which is above fourscore years too low.*

According to Apollodorus and others, the kingdom of Sicyon lasted about a thousand years. The number of her rulers is usually estimated at thirty-two; of whom twenty-six were kings, and the remainder archons; the names and reigns of the former are as follows:—

		B. C.
Ægialeus reigned	52	2171
Europs,	45	2119
Telchin,	20	2074
Apis,	25	2054
Thelxion,	52	2029
Ægyrus,†	34	1977
Thurimachus,	45	1943
Leucippus,	53	1898
Messapus,‡	47	1845
Peratus,	46	1798
Plemnæus,	48	1752
Orthopolis,	63	1704
Marathon,§	30	1641
Marathus,§	20	1611
Echireus,	55	1591
Corax,	30	1536
Epopeus,	35	1506
Lamedon,	40	1471
Sicyon,‖	45	1431

* Jackson's Chronological Antiquities, vol. iii. p. 303.
† Ægydrus in Eusebius.
‡ Omitted in Pausanias.
§ Both omitted in Pausanias.
‖ From him the people were called Sicyonians.

		B. C.
Polypus,	40	1386
Inachus,*	42	1346
Phæstus,	8	1304
Adrastus,	4	1296
Polyphides,	31	1292
Pelasgus,	20	1261
Zeuxippus,	32	1241

In the records preserved by Castor, Africanus, Eusebius, and Syncellus, confirmed and illustrated by the reasoning of Petavius, Jackson, and other chronographers, we find for the existence of Sicyon at the epoch above stated, evidence of a much more satisfactory nature than could have been anticipated. It must not be concealed, however, that the testimony of ancient authors on this subject appeared to Sir John Marsham so completely destitute of foundation and consistency, as to induce him to reject altogether the long list of Sicyonian kings furnished by Castor and Pausanias. Observing in Pliny that Anticlides mentions Phoroneus as the most ancient king in Greece; and that Acusilaus, as quoted by Clement of Alexandria, describes him even as the first of men; he maintains, with some appearance of reason, that there could not have been a sovereign on the throne of Sicyon at an earlier period. Syncellus, too, remarks that there is nothing to be found in Grecian history of an older date than the time of Inachus and of his son Phoroneus, who first reigned at Argos. Apollodorus, again, speaks of Ægialeus as the brother of Phoroneus; while Æschylus asserts that Apis, who stands the fourth in order of

* Ianiscus by Pausanias.

Sicyonian monarchs, was not a king at all, but a stranger from Ætolia, who proved a benefactor to his new country, by destroying the wild beasts with which it was infested. But his main argument for impugning the accuracy of Pausanias and Syncellus, rests upon the fact that, during the siege of Troy, there was in reality no king in Sicyon; and yet, according to the catalogue of princes given by certain writers whose authority Sir John is pleased to quote, Polyphides, the twenty-fourth in the list, is represented as governing the Sicyonians at the very time the Grecian host was employed against Priam, and when the people just named were classed among the tributary subjects of Agamemnon. Homer certainly places Sicyon in the roll of those small states which acknowledged the sovereignty of the Grecian commander.*

Καὶ Σικυῶν, ὁθ' ἀρ' Ἄδρηστος πρῶτ' ἐμβασιλεύεν.—*Iliad*, ii. 572.

But the main objection here urged by the learned author of the Canon Chronicus is founded on a mistake into which he appears to have been led by Eusebius; who, as I have already observed, dates the commencement of the Sicyonian kingdom about eighty years too low, and, of course, carries down the termination of it as far beyond the true period at which it came to a close.

In the above table the accession of Ægialeus, the first sovereign of that ancient state, is placed in the year B. C. 2171; and we find that, according to the computation of

* Hæc cum ita sese habeant, Sicyoniorum regum laterculum rejiciendum esse existimamus. Non enim Phoroneus esset regum vetustissimus, si ante illum per 200 amplius annos Sicyone regnatum fuisset. Polyphides rex 24 nemini vetustiorum Græcorum, ne Pausaniæ quidem in suo horum regum catalogo, agnoscitur. Fingunt Trojam illius tempore captam esse. Apud Homerum verum nullus est e Sicyone dux contra Trojam; quippe urbs illa tunc temporis sub ditione fuit Agamemnonis, qui regnabat Mycænis.—*Marshami Canon Chronicus*, p. 16.

Castor, the sum of the twenty-six reigns from Ægialeus to Zeuxippus, inclusive, amounted to 962 years. After the kings now mentioned the government was administered thirty-three years by the priests of Apollo Carneus; so that the total duration of the Sicyonian power extended to 995 years, when it merged in the rising dominion of the Argive states, under the command of the family of Atreus. The computation of Eusebius confirms the views now given in all respects but one. He agrees in the amount of the reigns, and consequently in the extent of the period assigned to the regal authority at Sicyon; wherefore, had he not systematically contracted the interval between the Hebrew exode and the foundation of Solomon's temple, he must have placed the conquest of that state by Agamemnon before the Trojan war, and thereby have agreed with Pausanias and Syncellus.

To confirm the foregoing epoch of the Sicyonian kingdom, Pausanias relates, that after the death of Zeuxippus, the last sovereign in the catalogue, Hippolytus, son of Rhopalus, son of Phæstus, who succeeded Zeuxippus, was invaded by Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ. Hippolytus not being able to oppose his army, submitted and became tributary to him. This invasion, it is obvious, must have taken place before the siege of Troy, and probably about the year B.C. 1200.*

After Hippolytus, he adds, and the priests of Apollo Carneus his son Lacestades succeeded to the government, and after him his son Phalces; in whose reign the son of Temenus, an Heraclide, invaded the country, and with an army entered Sicyon by night and took it, and made it a part of the kingdom of Argos; and thenceforth the Sicyonians

* Chronological Antiquities, vol. iii. p. 304. Pausan. Corinthiac. p. 50.

were called Dorians. This was in the year B. C. 1100, or a year or two earlier; after which the kingdom of Sicyon was entirely obliterated from the rank of independent states.*

These considerations will satisfy every candid reader, that the objections of Sir John Marsham are not well-founded, and that his determination to reject the list of Sicyonian kings had no better support than an error on the part of Eusebius, who, in one of his works, was induced to contract within too narrow limits the space between Moses and the last of the Hebrew judges. This observation is greatly confirmed by the reasoning of Petavius. This learned chronographer was convinced that Eusebius had placed the commencement of the Sicyonian kingdom many years too low; and hence that the termination of it was rendered inconsistent with history, which represents Agamemnon as reigning at the same time with Hippolytus, the successor of Zeuxippus, whom he afterwards conquered and reduced to a state of vassalage. But, according to the author of the Chronicon, Zeuxippus did not die until fifty-seven years after the decease of Agamemnon; although this king of Argos is known to have attacked the prince who attempted to occupy the throne on the death of the former,—a strange parachronism, and which could not fail to convict Eusebius of a gross and obvious blunder. Petavius, therefore, renewed the inquiry upon principles which he himself had elicited from such facts as are supplied by the more ancient writers; and, without any reliance upon his predecessors in chronology, arrived at a result, which at once establishes his own accuracy and the soundness of the general conclu-

* Chronological Antiquities, vol. iii. p. 305.

sion recommended by Castor and Apollodorus. He found that the reign of Ægialeus must have begun in B. C. 2164, and that the Sicyonian kingdom must have come to an end in B. C. 1167; differing not more than five or six years from Africanus and the two antiquaries whom I have just named.*

Dr Shuckford, I observe, has taken some pains to expose the illogical reasoning of Sir John Marsham in regard to the kings of Sicyon. "He endeavours to set aside these ancient kings; but his arguments are very insufficient. His inference, that there could be no kings of Sicyon before Phoroneus reigned at Argos, because Acusilaus, Plato, or Syncellus, have occasionally spoken at large of the antiquity of Phoroneus, calling him the first man, or the father of mortal men, can require no refutation. For these writers did not mean to assert that there were no men before Phoroneus, but only that he was of great antiquity." "I was willing to mention the objections of this learned writer, because he himself seems to lay some stress upon them. And it is surprisingly strange to see what mere shadows of argumentation even great and learned men will embrace, if they seem to favour their particular notions."†

In connecting the reigns of the Sicyonian kings with sacred history, it will appear, as has been already stated, that Ægialeus ascended the throne in the days of Nahor, the grandfather of Abraham; which event, according to Syncellus, who here follows the authority of Africanus, took place in the year of the world 3239.‡ As the regal

* Eusebii. Chron. lib. prior. p. 9.; lib. poster. p. 96. Syncel. Chronographia, p. 97, and p. 151, 152. Petavii Doct. Temp. lib. xiii. Pausan. Corinthiac. p. 49.

† Shuckford, vol. ii. p. 141.

‡ Η Συκωνιων βασιλια ηρξατο απο πρωτου βασιλεως Αιγιαλεως, ἑως κ ς' βασι-

government continued nearly a thousand years, the successive sovereigns were contemporary with Abraham and his immediate descendants, as also with Moses, Joshua, and the Judges, down to the era of Jephthah the Gileadite. But it was only during the latter part of this period that the tribes of Israel could come into contact with the Egyptian and Phenician colonists who had settled in Greece; for, during their residence in the country of the Pharaohs, their tribulations in the wilderness, and the protracted wars which were occasioned by their occupation of the promised land, they had no opportunity of marking the progress of society among other nations. Devoted to the pursuits of pastoral life or to the labours of agriculture, and shunning, upon principle, all intercourse with the idolatrous people who, at that period, conducted the commerce and encouraged the arts and sciences of the East, the sons of Jacob appear not, for several centuries after their settlement in Canaan, to have had any knowledge of Greece, its various kingdoms, its language, and its manifold superstitions. In perusing the brief annals of the Hebrew republic, we cannot discover the slightest evidence that any communication ever took place between the chosen people and any Gentile nations; those excepted whose territory was immediately contiguous to their borders, and who from time to time were moved to attack them either with regular armies or with predatory bands.

Sicyon was not the only kingdom established in Greece by the Pelasgian adventurers. At a period considerably later, a colony of the same people settled at Argos, where they founded a state not less celebrated than the other,

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λεως Ζευξιππου, ἐπι ἐτη διαρκεσασα π ξ ζ'. μεθ' ὁυς ἀρχοντες ἱερεις ϛ' ἐτη λ γ'. ὁμου τα παντα της Σικωνιων ἀρχης ἐτη α'. ὡς Απολλοδωρος και ἑτεροι, ἐν ὁις και Ευσεβιος ἐγραψαν.—*Syncelli Chronographia*, p. 97.

and of which the power continued during many centuries to be exerted with much effect upon the fortunes of the neighbouring nations. Inachus is sometimes reckoned the first sovereign of Argos. Apollodorus, however, describes this chief as the son of Oceanus and Tethys, to denote, perhaps, that he had migrated thither by sea, or, at least, that he was not a native of the country where he began to rule: and adds, that he was the father of Phoroneus; whom, again, he asserts to have been the earliest king in that part of Peloponnesus where the descendants of Inachus fixed their habitation. Hyginus, in like manner, represents Inachus as the son of Oceanus and the parent of Phoroneus; stating, at the same time, that he was not a king, and, in fact, that no regal power was exercised at Argos till the following generation. Dionysius of Halicarnassus is of the same opinion: whence we may infer that Inachus was, without doubt, the father of Phoroneus, and that he first came with a Pelasgic colony into Argolis, where they were dispersed up and down the country for several years; after which his son, the prince just named, brought them into one community, gave them laws, and assumed the office of chief governor.*

The reign of Phoroneus is usually supposed to synchronize with the Ogygian flood, the date of which may be discovered as follows. Africanus, in the third book of his Chronography, has related that the most eminent authors, both Christian and heathen, and among the latter Philochorus and Hellanicus, with Castor, Thallus, Diodorus Siculus, and Alexander Polyhistor, agree in reckoning 1020 years from Ogyges, or from the flood which took

* Apollod. lib. ii. c. i. Halicarnass. Antiq. Rom. lib. i. Lactant. de Vera Relig. lib. i. Jackson's Chronological Antiquities, vol. iii. p. 309. Syncel. Chronographia, p. 64.

place in his reign, to the beginning of the Olympiads. Censorinus states that this interval was thought to be about a thousand years; an estimate which, in round numbers, may be said to accord with that now given on the authority of Africanus. Taking the former computation for the standard, the Ogygian deluge must be placed in the year B. C. 1796; while, according to the latter, it must have fallen out in the year 1776 before the advent of our Saviour. Dr Jackson thinks that even the lowest of these numbers is somewhat too high; and for the reasons which I am now about to copy from him, he prefers the year B. C. 1752.

"Africanus says that the flood having destroyed most of the inhabitants of Attica, there was no king for 189 years to Cecrops. Now if we place Cecrops as high as the Parian Marbles and Africanus in Eusebius put him, that is, in the year B. C. 1482, and add to this sum 189 years up to the Ogygian flood, it will then be placed in the year B. C. 1771, which is the highest term of it.

"Cedrenus gives us an ancient testimony that the Ogygian flood happened in Attica 248 years before the Deucalion flood in Thessaly, which was in the reign of Cranaus, the second king of Athens, and a native of Attica. Cranaus began to reign in the year before Christ 1507, to which add 248 years, then the Ogygian flood fell in the year before Christ 1755, if the Deucalion flood was in the first of Cranaus; and it was either then, or not later than the fourth of Cranaus, where the corrected Parian Marbles place it.

"It appears that it was unanimously agreed by the ancient historians that the Ogygian flood happened in the reign of Phoroneus; but in what year of his reign was not known. But from the foregoing evidence we may place it, either in the year before Christ 1771, which

was the ninth year of Phoroneus; or in the year before Christ 1761, which was the nineteenth year of his reign; or in the year before Christ 1752, which was the twenty-eighth of Phoroneus: and I think the last to be the most probable year."*

The judgment of the author now quoted coincides with that of the most learned chronologers both in ancient and modern times; on which account we may proceed to construct upon it the following Table, the materials of which are collected from their several works.

Kings of Argos from B. C. 1779 to B. C. 1342.

		B. C.
Phoroneus reigned	60	1779
Apis,	35	1719
Argus,	70	1684
Criasus,	54	1614
Phorbas,	25	1560
Treopas,	36	1535
Crotopus,	21	1499
Steneleus,	11	1478
Danaus,	50	1467
Lynceus,	35	1417
Abas,	23	1382
Prœtus,	17	1359
Acrisius,	31	1342

After this period the Argive kingdom was divided; Acrisius reigning at Mycenæ, and Prœtus at Argos.

It has been already observed, that the kingdoms of

* Jackson's Chronological Antiquities, vol. iii. p. 311, 312.

Sicyon and Argos owed their foundation to a people of Pelasgic origin. But, as many centuries elapsed before the Greeks acquired the use of letters, all the notices concerning them, which had long floated on the current of popular tradition, were become very indistinct at the time when the first historians attempted to rescue from oblivion the lineage and achievements of those enterprising foreigners, to whom their country was indebted for so much of its knowledge and its early prosperity. It was not indeed until the Pelasgic tribes had extended their colonies to the shores of Italy, that curiosity was awakened respecting their descent; and as, after the lapse of so long an interval, their original migration into Greece was enveloped in that obscurity which soon settles even upon the most important events in an unlettered age, they were only known as a race of adventurers who had relinquished or been expelled from the provinces of Thessaly. Their ancient name, indeed, was not entirely forgotten; but even the Greek writers themselves were so ignorant of its derivation, that they ascribed its rise to Pelasgus, a king of Arcadia, who lived long after the times of Ægialeus and Phoroneus.*

Some authors have imagined that, in the similar term Phaleg, they could find the origin of Pelasgi; and others have conjectured, that, as the name belonged to a wandering people, its etymology might be discovered in πελαργος, the Greek term for a stork; that bird being remarkable for the tendency which it displays to a frequent change of residence. But it is more probable, as has been already suggested, that these ancient colonists were called Pelasgi, from their constant practice of transporting themselves by

* Πελασγοι οι Θεσσαλοι, και Πελασγικον Αργος—και γενος απο Πελασγου του Αρκαδος γενομενοι πολυτλαες τυτ.—*Hesychius in voc.*

water, and from visiting in their ships the coasts of different countries, either for the purpose of trade or of conquest.

That the Pelasgians were of Phenician extraction, is rendered extremely probable by a variety of circumstances connected with their early history. Herodotus, for example, relates, that the natives of Samothrace practised the Cabiric mysteries, which, says he, they received from the Pelasgi, who, in ancient times, inhabited that country. The same author remarks, that he did not certainly know the peculiarities of their language; but imagined it was the same which was spoken by the people of Crestona, who lived near the Tyrrhenes; that it was a barbarous dialect, and far removed from the pure Hellenic. Some antiquaries have imagined that the town here named was Crotona in Italy, and that the Tyrrhenes were the ancient inhabitants of Tuscany; for it appears to have been among them that the Pelasgians established their first settlements on the coast of Magna Græcia. Hence, say they, we are enabled to remove a cause of great confusion and obscurity in the history of these tribes; arising from an assumption on the part of several writers, not only that the Tyrrhenes and Pelasgians were the same people, but that they were both natives of Greece, and had each removed from thence into the richer plains of the western peninsula.

That the earliest superstition of Greece was derived from the Pelasgian tribes, is manifest from the striking fact, that the oldest gods of Thrace were the Phenician Cabiri; the principal divinities of those commercial nations on the Syrian coast who, in the remotest times, maintained an intercourse with Egypt. The most ancient Cabiric idol made known by the Pelasgians to the Greeks, was Uranus; and hence the Greeks, with their usual facility of accommodation, adopted the belief, or rather, perhaps,

countenanced the mythological tradition, that he was the first king who had reigned in their country. A prince who bore this name, is indeed supposed to have ruled in Phenicia a few centuries after the Flood. The veneration of posterity raised him to the rank of a divinity; and his successors on the throne could not fail to see the advantage of allowing their lineage to be engrafted upon so high a stock. But to the Greeks nothing accrued from this borrowed absurdity, except the suspicion that they wanted originality even in their fiction: it proved that their mythology was drawn from a foreign source; and that, however much their vainglory might be gratified with the notion that their ancestors were the primeval and most ancient occupants of the soil, their families nevertheless owed their extraction to wandering Phenicians, to pirates and robbers.

Homer, if we may rely on the interpretation of Strabo, esteemed the Pelasgi as barbarians; that is, according to his acceptation of the latter term, they were of foreign birth, and spoke a tongue different from the smoother language of the descendants of Hellen. Herodotus, too, recognized a distinction between the Pelasgians and the other Greeks; stating that the former were the same with the people of Attica, and that their diction was the same, which they laid not aside until they were finally incorporated with the Hellenes who inhabited the adjoining district. To account for this similarity, he reminds his readers that the Pelasgians dwelt in Attica before Cecrops went thither, and that, though in compliment to the chief, they were afterwards called Cecropidæ, their more ancient name was Cranai or mountaineers.*

* Αθηναῖοι δὲ ὅτι μὲν Πελασγῶν ἐχόντων τὴν νυν Ἑλλαδα καλεομενην ἐσαν Πελασγοι, ὀνομαζομενοι Κραναοι.—Lib. viii. 44.

This observation by Herodotus explains the following verses extracted by Dr Jackson from Marcian Heracleotes.

"But," says the author of Chronological Antiquities, no doubt long before the Greeks had the name of Hellenes, "the Attic or Jaonic Greek and Pelasgic languages were intermixed with each other, though they were not the same, as Herodotus thought." Apollodorus, speaking of Hellen, the son of Deucalion, says, that he called the Greeks after his own name Hellenicoi. Greeks (Γραικοι) was the old name of the people who inhabited the part of the country called Hellas, which contained Thessaly and Thesprotia; and were either the same with the Pelasgi, or were very anciently mixed with them. We have mention of them in several parts of Greece where the Pelasgi inhabited, as Aristotle and Ephorus tell us. They might be called Greeks (Γραικοι), as being the most ancient inhabitants of the country where they settled; and hence γραια and γραυς came to signify any thing that is very old. It seems to be derived from the Celtic word *Grec*, which signifies old.*

It was, says Mr Mitford, "a received opinion among the most informed and judicious Grecian writers, that Greece was originally held by barbarians,—a term appropriated, in the flourishing ages of the nation, as a definition for all people who were not Greeks. Among the uncertain traditions of various hordes who, in early times, overran the country, the Pelasgian name is eminent. This name may be traced back into Asia: it is found in the

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Ἐξης Αθηνας φασιν οἰκησας λαβειν
Το μεν Πελασγους πρωτον, ους δη και λογος
Κρανεους καλεισθαι· μετα δε ταυτα Κεκροπιδας,
Κεκροπος δυναστευσαντος.—*Perieg. p.* 23.

They were called Kranaoi from the mountainous parts of the country where they lived. Hesychius explains. κρανεον by ὑψηλον, τραχυ: so that Acte, the old name of Attica, and Κραναη are words of the same import. Homer calls the country of Ulysses κραναην Ἰθακην.—*Odyss.* lib. i. 247.

* Chronological Antiquities, vol. iii. p. 106.

islands; and the people who bore it appear to have spread far on the continent of Europe, since they were reckoned among the earliest inhabitants of Italy. It was very generally acknowledged, as the accurate and judicious Strabo assures us, that the Pelasgians were anciently established all over Greece, and that they were the first people who became powerful there. Consonant to this, we find every mention of the Pelasgians by Herodotus and Thucydides; from the former of whom, we learn that Pelasgia was once a general name for the country. But a passage of the poet Æschylus concerning this people, for its antiquity, its evident honesty, its probability, and its consistency with all other remaining evidence of best authority, appears to deserve particular notice. "The Pelasgian princes," he says, "extended their dominion over all the northern parts of Greece, together with Macedonia and Epirus, as far as the river Strymon eastward, and the sea beyond the Dodonæan mountains westward. Peloponnesus was not peopled so early; for Apis, apparently a Pelasgian chief, crossing the Corinthian gulf from Ætolia, and destroying the wild beasts, first made that peninsula securely habitable for men; and hence it had from him the most ancient name Apia."*

But although it is universally admitted that the Pelasgians occupied, at a very early period, a large portion of Greece, there has not been the same degree of consent as to the origin of this celebrated people. From a certain agreement in the superstitions which are supposed to have prevailed on the Syrian coast, with those which the Pelasgians are understood to have established on this side of the Hellespont, I have yielded in some measure to the

* History of Greece, vol. p. 31, 32.

conviction entertained by a number of learned writers, that the colonists now spoken of had originally made their way to Greece from the south-east rather than from the north. In conformity with this view, Mr Astle remarks, that "we learn from Sanchoniathon that the sons of the Dioscouri and Cabiri wrote the first annals of the Phenician history, by the command of Taaut, and being cast upon the coast near mount Casius, about forty miles from Pelusium, they built a temple: this event happened in the second generation after the Deluge recorded by Moses. We learn from Herodotus, that the Pelasgi were the descendants of the Phenician Cabiri, and that the Samothracians received and practised the Cabiric mysteries from the Pelasgi, who, in ancient times, inhabited Samothrace."*

Herodotus likewise informs us, that Egypt communicated to Greece the names of almost all the gods; "and that they are of barbarian origin," says he, "I am convinced by my different researches. The names of Neptune and the Dioscouri I mentioned before; with these, if we except Juno, Vesta, Themis, the Graces, and the Nereids, the names of all the other deities have always been familiar to Egypt. In this instance, I do but repeat the opinions of the Egyptians." He goes on to mention that the Greeks derived all their other superstitions from the Pelasgians. "Of the truth of this, whoever has been initiated in the Cabirian mysteries which the Samothracians use, and which they learned of the Pelasgi, will be necessarily convinced; for the Pelasgians, before they lived near the Athenians, formerly inhabited Samothracia, and taught the people of that country their mysteries."†

There being no similar evidence for believing that the

* Origin and Progress of Writing, p. 52. Cumberland's Sanchoniathon.
† Herod. lib. ii. c. 50, 51.

Cabirian mysteries originated among the Scythians, it is not surprising that the arguments used by those who maintain the Gothic lineage of the Pelasgians have not made the impression on the public mind which their authors expected. But several learned men, notwithstanding, continue to hold the opinion that those ancient inhabitants of Greece were Scythians; and also that the Pelasgians and Hellenes were one people, having the same extraction, the same language, and the same religion. Pinkerton asserts, in his usual bold and dogmatic style, that the "Pelasgi, or Hellenes, or Greeks, were Scythians of Thrace. This," says he, "plain sense might argue at once, because the Greeks were everywhere surrounded by Scythæ and the sea, and no other nation was near them: but let us illustrate a little. From the Greek authors above adduced, it is clear that all the Greeks were originally called Pelasgi; but that the Hellenes, originally a small tribe in Thessaly, being the last of the Pelasgi who came into Achaia or lesser Greece, they, by a chance equal to the name of America and many other great names, gave their appellation to the whole country. The Pelasgi," he repeats, "were Scythæ: this may be shown from different arguments, though the Greek writers have shaded the subject much by the foolish desire of making their nation aboriginal, or sprung from the ground on which they lived. It is a pity they saw not so far as the philosopher Antisthenes, who used to tell the Athenians that such praise belonged to snails, not to men. But that the Pelasgi were Scythæ, appears from this, that they certainly descended from the north-east into Greece; and the Scythæ spread over all these parts. For we find settlements of the Pelasgi on the Hellespont: and in Thessaly, a country to the north-east of Greece, a large country was specially called Pelasgia in the days of Homer, and far later. The

language and manners of the whole of Hellas, from Thrace to the Ionian sea, were Thracian, Scythic, Getic, Gothic. No ancient writer hints any diversity of speech, save as to refinement, between Peloponnesus, Attica, Epirus, Thessaly, Macedon, Thrace. From all these proofs, it is as clear as so remote a subject can be, that the Pelasgi, the ancestors of the Greeks, afterwards called Hellenes from a small tribe of the Pelasgi who were the last that came in, were at first settled in Macedon and Thessaly: that they were Thracians: that the Thracians were Scythæ, Getæ, or Goths."*

In the above quotation I have given the substance of the argument employed by the ingenious but very irritable author of the Dissertation on the Goths, in support of his notion that the Pelasgians were not only Scythians, but that they were not, in lineage, language, or religion, different from the Hellenes, or from any of the more ancient inhabitants of Greece. Before we proceed to inquire whether the confidence with which this conclusion is pressed upon the reader does not exceed in strength the reasoning upon which it is recommended, I shall exhibit an abridged statement of the leading views of such modern writers as have adopted the principles of Mr Pinkerton.

Considerable stress has been laid upon a passage in Herodotus, in which the historian has been understood to assert, that although the Athenians were Pelasgi, the Spartans were Hellenes, and that, while the latter were addicted to a wandering life, the former remained fixed in their habitations. The following attempt is made by a learned author to prove that the meaning of Herodotus was exactly the reverse of what his words literally convey. The

* Dissertation on the Scythians or Goths, p. 74—80.

passage in question occurs in the fifty-sixth chapter of the second book.

" He, [Crœsus], in consequence of investigation, found that the Spartans and Athenians had the pre-eminence; those [the Spartans] in the Doric nation, these [the Athenians] in the Ionic. For these nations in ancient times were preferred, the one [the Spartans] the *Pelasgic nation*, the other the *Hellenic*. The one truly [the Hellenic] never wandered from its own soil; but the other was much addicted to migration. For under king Deucalion it inhabited the coast of Phthiotis; under Dorus, the son of *Hellen*, the region which lies under Ossa and Olympus, denominated Estiaeotis; whence being ejected by the Cadmeans, it inhabited the region called Macednus in Pindus; thence it again migrated to Dryopis; and, coming from Dryopis into Peloponnesus, it received the name of Doric.*

" It is admitted, that from the order which Herodotus observes in the use of the article, conjoined with the distinctive adverbs μὲν and δὲ, the sense would seem to be, that the Pelasgi never wandered, but that the Hellenes did. Here, however, Herodotus has overlooked the natural connexion; and hence has his meaning been so much misapprehended. Having mentioned the Hellenic nation, when he proceeds to give one leading feature in their character, he does so without regarding the former order of his language. For unless the assertion, that one of these

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* Ἱστορίων δὲ, εὑρίσκει Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους πρόσχοντας. τοὺς μὲν, τοῦ Δωρικοῦ γένεος, τοὺς δὲ, τοῦ Ἰωνικοῦ. ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ προεκκριμένα ἐόντα τὸ ἀρχαῖον. τὸ μὲν, Πελασγικὸν, τὸ δὲ, Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος. καὶ τὸ μὲν, οὐδαμῇ κω ἐξεχώρησε. τὸ δὲ, πολυπλάνητον κάρτα. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ Δευκαλίωνος βασιλῆος οἴκεε γῆν τὴν Φθιῶτιν. ἐπὶ δὲ Δώρου τοῦ Ἕλληνος, τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Ὄσσαν τε καὶ Οὔλυμπον χώρην, καλεομένην δὲ Ἱστιαιῶτιν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἱστιαιώτιδος ὡς ἐξανέστη ὑπὸ Καδμείων, οἴκεε ἐν Πίνδῳ Μακεδνὸν καλεόμενον. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὖτις ἐς τὴν Δρυοπίδα μετέβη, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Δρυοπίδος οὕτως ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐλθὸν, Δωρικὸν ἐκλήθη.—*Herod.* lib. i. c. 56.

" was much addicted to migration," refers exclusively to the Pelasgi, the whole passage is self-contradictory. It is of this wandering people that he states the various migrations, till " coming into Peloponnesus, it received the name of Doric." Now, he must necessarily be understood as describing the Spartans; for them only had he formerly designed as belonging to " the Doric nation." It is incontrovertible, therefore, however awkward the structure of the language, that the Pelasgi are meant; for he had asserted that the Spartans were Pelasgi, as distinguished from the Athenians, who were Hellenes.

" It might seem at first view, from what he states with respect to the difference of language, that Herodotus, in the chapters immediately following, meant to assert that the Atticans were radically distinct from the Pelasgi. He says, indeed, that from all that could be conjectured concerning the language of the Pelasgi, from the remains of it among the Crestonians, it was barbarous; while he asserts, that according to his apprehension, " the Hellenic nation, from its very formation, had invariably used one language."* He admits, however, that the Attic nation, notwithstanding the diversity of speech, was Pelasgic: " If, therefore, the whole Pelasgic nation was such as those who remained in Crestona, the Attic nation, being Pelasgic, when it entered among the Hellenes, also learned their language."

" But nothing can be more evident, than that this modest and candid historian founded his conjecture, as to the permanent identity of the Greek language, on insufficient grounds. The idea, that the Pelasgi, when conjoined with the Atticans, totally abandoned their vernacular

* Lib. i. c. 57, 58.

language, and adopted that of a posterior colony, is opposed to universal experience. This must appear still more improbable, as he acknowledges, that 'the Hellenic nation, separated from the Pelasgi, was weak, and received its increase from the frequent accession of other barbarous nations.'* Can it be believed, that a feeble nation could be amalgamated with a variety of others, and yet retain its original speech? There is no occasion for reasoning, indeed, as it is universally acknowledged, that the language of the Greeks must be viewed as formed from the contributions of a variety of tongues, which they themselves called barbarous.

"Notwithstanding this inconsistency, it is obvious, that Herodotus did not view the Hellenes as radically a different people. For, while he calls the Athenians 'the Hellenic nation,' he in the same place says, that 'the Attic nation was Pelasgic.' Although he also here assigns to the Athenians the 'pre-eminence in the Ionic nation,' he never meant to deny their Pelasgic origin. For in another place he says, 'the Iones, when they inhabited that region in Peloponnesus, now called Achaia, before the coming of Danaus and Xuthus into Peloponnesus (as the Hellenes relate), were denominated Pelasgi *Aegialees*,' i. e. those on the sea-shore; 'but from Ion, the son of Xuthus, they received the name of Iones.'"†

As the value of the argument which is here employed depends upon the accuracy of the version which has been bestowed upon the passage under dispute, I may be allowed to remark, that Dr Jamieson, in following M.

* Lib. i. c. 58.

† See Hermes Scythicus, &c. to which is prefixed a Dissertation on the Historical Proofs of the Scythian Origin of the Greeks. By John Jamieson, D.D.

Geinoz, has taken very great freedoms as well with the more common usage of the Greek language, as with the structure of the particular sentences which he has analyzed. Mr Beloe translates the ambiguous terms as follows:—"The Lacedemonians of Doric, and the Athenians of Ionian origin, seemed to claim his distinguished preference. These nations, always eminent, were formerly known by the appellation of Pelasgians and Hellenians. The former had never changed their place of residence; the latter often."

That the passage may be rendered as Dr Jamieson has done it, was certainly the opinion of M. Geinoz, the author of some learned dissertations in the volumes of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres. But it is deserving of notice, that the ingenious Frenchman founds his reasoning rather upon the general import of the narrative, than upon the idiom of the Greek language or the practice of good writers.

In the fourteenth volume of the work now mentioned, he admits, that "when Herodotus speaks of the Pelasgians and the Hellenes as the two nations which were anciently the most distinguished in Greece, he does not take upon him to attribute to them both the same degree of antiquity: he himself allows that the Pelasgians were the more ancient, since he observes, in his second book, that all the country, which in his time was comprehended under the name of Hellas, had been formerly called Pelasgia."*

Little confidence can be placed in an argument founded

* Lorsqu' Herodote a parlé des Pelasges et des Hellenes comme des deux nations qui etoient anciennement les plus distinguées de la Grece, il n'a pas pretendu attribuer a l'une et a l'autre le meme degré d'antiquité; il convient lui-même que les Pelasges sont les plus anciens, puisqu'il dit dans le second livre, que tout le pays que l'on comprenoit de son tems sous le nom d'Hellas, avoit eté auparavant appellé Pelasgia.—*Histoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, vol. xiv. p. 154.

upon a commentary, the object of which is to prove that the original author either had not competent knowledge of the subject on which he wrote, or that he had not skill enough to express it intelligibly. Mr Pinkerton, without hesitation, ascribes the obscurity of the above passage in Herodotus to his dishonesty, or to the desire of flattering the vanity of his countrymen. After remarking that this ancient writer tells us that the Athenians were Pelasgi, and the Spartans Hellenes; that the former wandered from place to place, and that the latter remained fixed in their habitations; he exclaims, "So far did a prejudice of making the Athenians αυτοχθονες overcome the truth! Wesseling in vain endeavours to save Herodotus, by saying he only means that the Pelasgi of Athens never wandered. In fact, Herodotus had a difficult game to play: had the Athenians not been Pelasgi, they could not be ancient; had they wandered as Pelasgi, they could not be αυτοχθονες. There was the dilemma!"*

According to the alternative now presented, Herodotus was either a fool or a knave: he must either have fallen into a great mistake respecting the truth, or he must have intentionally misrepresented it. But upon a closer examination of his statement, the reader, I have no doubt, will agree with Wesseling in thinking that the observation of the renowned historian applies exclusively to those Pelasgians who had originally settled in Attica, and who did not afterwards quit their chosen habitations, and, like their brethren at large, migrate into other countries. It is perfectly obvious, in the first place, that Herodotus speaks of the two nations, the Athenians and the Lacedemonians, as they were in the time of Crœsus, the king of Lydia;

* Dissertation on the Scythians and Goths, p. 66.

and, secondly, that his remarks on the characters of the Pelasgians and Hellenes did not, in this instance, apply to these tribes generally, but were meant to be restricted to the particular sections of them from which the Atticans and Spartans immediately derived their origin. The Pelasgians, who first took up their residence in Attica, continued to remain in that country, and were, in fact, the stock from which the Athenians sprang, or upon which they were engrafted; but the branch of the Hellenes, whence the Lacedemonians drew their lineage, had been frequently removed, sometimes freely and at other times by violence. In the reign of Deucalion, says he, the Hellenes possessed the region of Phthiotis; but under Dorus, the son of Hellen, they inhabited the country called Istiæotis, which borders upon Ossa and Olympus. Thence they were driven by the Cadmæans, and fixed themselves in Macednum, near mount Pindus; migrating thence to Dryopis, and afterwards to the Peloponnesus, they were subsequently known by the name of Dorians.*

It admits not, then, of any reasonable doubt, that the character of wanderers, as applied in this case to the Hellenes, was not meant to be extended to all who bore that name; and also, that the observation in regard to the stationary habits of the Pelasgians, was strictly limited to those particular families, which had placed themselves in Attica, whence they did not afterwards remove. The veracity and knowledge of Herodotus are, on this simple principle, vindicated from the foul imputation which has been from time to time cast upon them, by authors who, perhaps, were more desirous to find in his works a support for their systematic views, than to discover the plain and

* Herodot. lib. i. c. 56.

literal import of his narrative. Had the word Hellenes been placed before Pelasgian, the grammatical connexion of the passage would no doubt have been very different, and might, perhaps, have justified the gloss which has been so perseveringly put upon it.

The learned Geinoz, indeed, maintains that such transposition is by no means necessary; for that the idiom of the Greek language will allow us to translate the expression το μεν with a reference to the nearest patronymic Ἑλληνικον, and to apply the description contained in the clause το δε πολυπλαγκτον to the more distant, that is, to Πελασγικον.* But the usage of good writers, it must be obvious, is not favourable to the notion of M. Geinoz; nor are the examples which he adduces in support of his views altogether decisive of the question at issue. Besides, the grammatical emendation which might be thereby accomplished, would not, in my opinion, improve the sense; for there can be no doubt that Herodotus meant to inform his readers both that the Hellenes had frequently changed their ground, and also that the particular clan of Pelasgians who settled in Attica had so far differed from the usual practice of their countrymen, as to remain constantly in their first habitation.

That the father of Grecian history believed the Pelasgians and the Hellenes to have been two distinct and originally different classes of men, is rendered perfectly manifest by his observations on their several languages. It is not, as M. De la Nauze remarks, because Herodotus re-

* Voici quelles etoient anciennement dans la Grece les nations les plus distinguées, sçavoir, la Pelasgique et l'Hellenique. Pour ce qui est de celle-ci, elle n'est jamais sortie pour aller habiter ailleurs, mais celle-la a eté extremèment vagabonde. La simple exposition du texte ne permit pas de s'y tromper. Il est visible que les particules το μεν se rapportent au nom le plus proche, c'est a dire, a Ἑλληνικον, et que το δε πολυπλαγκτον, &c. se rapportent a Πελασγικον.—*Histoire de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, vol. xiv. p. 177.

presents the language of the Pelasgians as barbarous in his own time, that we must conclude that there was a primitive and national difference between the Pelasgians and the Hellenes: it is because he adds that the Hellenic tongue had not at all changed since its first establishment, and because he supposes the same permanence in the Pelasgic tongue, by concluding that it was still preserved in all the scattered towns which remained of the Pelasgians, exactly such as it was when it was first introduced into them. Now, the permanent form of the two tongues from the earliest times, added to their total dissimilarity in the days of Herodotus, proves manifestly the difference of the two nations. The same writer assures us, that the first Athenians were Pelasgians, and that, from having forgotten their language, they became Hellenes: they passed thus from the one nation to the other.*

The same acute antiquary likewise believes that the Pelasgians were of Phenician extraction; and that they made their first settlements in Thrace, and subsequently proceeded southwards into the lower parts of Greece, merely because, in the infancy of navigation, they thought it safer to sail along the shores of Asia Minor, and cross at the Hellespont into Europe, than to venture upon a long voyage from their native coast to any part of the Peloponne-

* Ce n'est point parcequ' Herodote represente le langage des Pelasges comme barbare de son temps, qu'il faut en conclure une difference primitive et nationale entre les Pelasges et les Hellenes; mais c'est parce qu'il ajoûte que la langue Hellenique n'avoit point changé depuis son etablissement, et parce qu'il sûppose la meme stabilité dans la langue Pelasgique, en jugeant qu'elle se conservait dans tout ce qui restoit de villes isolées de Pelasges, telle qu'elle y avoit eté apportée. Or la forme permanente des deux langues depuis les premiers temps, jointe a leur opposition totale du temps d'Herodote, prouve manifestement la difference des deux nations. Le même ecrivain assure que les premiers Atheniens etoient Pelasges, et que ce fut par l'oubli de leur langue qu'ils divinrent Hellenes: ils passerent donc ainsi d'une nation à l'autre.—*Histoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, vol. xxiii. p. 120.

sus. "Les colonies venant d'Orient, ont passé vraisemblablement d'Asie en Europe par le detroit de l'Hellespont, ou elles ont fait le tour du pont Euxin par la Scythie. Dans ces commencemens on n'etoit point encore assez versé dans l'art de la navigation pour risquer d'abord un trajet aussi considerable que l'est celui de la Phenicie ou de l'Asie Mineure jusqu'au Peloponnese; on se contentoit alors de naviguer le long des côtes, sans oser s'en ecarter jusqu'a perdre de vue; ainsi les Pelasges auront commencé par se repandre dans la Thrace; de la s'avancant vers le Midi, ils seront entrez dans le Thessalie, où la beauté et la douceur du climat, et la fertilité de la terre, les auront fixez.*

De la Nauze thinks he can discover the very period at which the Greeks, in a body, relinquished the name of Pelasgians, and resolved to adopt that of Hellenes. His remarks on this head, though they may not appear quite satisfactory, express strongly his conviction that the two nations were originally of distinct and separate origins. "Pour ce qui regarde l'epoque precise ou les Grecs commencerent a prendre le titre d'Hellenes pour se distinguer des nations etrangeres, il est assez facile d'en juger par quelques temoignages combinées d'Herodote, de Thucydide, et de Strabon. Un corps de Pelasges arrivé d'Italie dans la Thrace, penetra dans la Grece pendant la guerre de Troie, et s'etablit en Beotie; en ayant eté chassés soixante ans apres cette guerre, ils trouverent un asyle pour quelque temps dans l'Attique. Les Atheniens les traiterent cependant en etrangers; ils les sequestrerent dans un coin separé sous le mont Hymette, et pour se distinguer encore davantage des ces nouveaux hôtes, ils accederent des

* Histoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions, vol. xiv. p. 160.

alors a la denomination des Hellenes, jusque la reduits a un canton de la Thessalie.*

To a candid mind the consideration of greatest weight in this controversy will unquestionably turn upon the acknowledged difference in the languages of the two nations, the Pelasgians and the Hellenes. No man of reflection can be satisfied with the suggestion of Pinkerton and his followers, that the tongue of the latter people was different from that of the former, only in so far as a refined dialect of any language is different from its more rude and barbarous form: because, although it be admitted, that, in the course of a few centuries, the speech of a nation may change so much as to become unintelligible to those who are only acquainted with its primitive idiom, it does not appear that any such local distance or breach of communication was at any time interposed between the several tribes of the ancient Greeks, as could account for the total oblivion, among nearly their whole body, of a language which had once been common to them all.

According to the hypothesis we are now considering, the Pelasgians were of Scythic origin; they had descended towards Greece from the north-east, where the numerous hordes of their countrymen still occupied the extensive plains which border upon the Ister and the Euxine sea; they had formed their first settlements in Thrace, Macedonia, Epirus, and Thessaly; and they had ultimately pushed their colonies across the isthmus, and given inhabitants to a large portion of the Peloponnesus. Now, it is perfectly clear that, if these assumptions be founded on historical truth, the Pelasgian colonists were so placed

* Histoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions, vol. xxiii. p. 129.

as to be able to keep up a constant intercourse with one another, as well as with the parent state: and although the members of the more southern settlements, by coming sooner in contact with the Phenicians and Egyptians, might outstrip their brethren in civilization and in refinement of speech, we cannot conceive that such a change could have been brought about in the latter article, as to render the language of the one class of Pelasgians unintelligible to the other. The mere change of accent and pronunciation does not so entirely alter the vocabulary and structure of a national tongue, as to make it unfit for the purposes of communication in different districts of the same country; and more especially when the greater part of the people continue to use the old dialect, and to maintain a constant intercourse with the parent tribes from whom it was originally derived.

Again, if the Pelasgians were Scythians, and, of course, emigrants from the banks of the Danube, how shall we explain the fact that, although in the immediate neighbourhood of their kinsmen, whose restless disposition is well known, their numbers in Greece were allowed to dwindle away, and their very language, considered at least as a national dialect, to become entirely extinct? The Gothic shepherds surely were not so regardless of the green vales of Thessaly and the rich meadows of Peloponnesus, as to allow them to remain unoccupied, or to be seized without resistance by other wanderers. Had the Pelasgians, in a small body, migrated from India or China, and passed through tribes possessing no affinity to them in origin, language, or manners, we should have had no difficulty in comprehending how, in the course of time, they might have disappeared in the mass of the surrounding population, and lose at once their name and their tongue, even among the people over whom they had gained a

temporary dominion. But situated as, according to hypothesis, the Pelasgians were in relation to the great body of their countrymen, of whom they might be regarded as only the outposts or advanced guard, it is next to impossible to explain, on rational grounds, the events which are connected with their residence in Greece.

Mr Pinkerton, overlooking the important circumstances of contiguity, and the means of regular intercourse between the mother nation and the Pelasgian colonies in Thrace and Achaia, undertakes to account for the loss of their language and the extinction of their name, by a reference to a more modern case, which, in fact, presents hardly any one point of resemblance. The Greeks, says he, fermented into purity by foreign colonies, soon assumed quite a different character from their Scythian progenitors and neighbours,—a case which may even happen in ruder nations, as we know that the Danes, who came to Northumberland in the ninth century, were regarded as utter strangers and enemies by their own countrymen the Angli, who, in A.D. 547, had settled in that province.*

I need not occupy the time of the reader by pointing out the great difference between the supposed case of the Pelasgians, who continued to be neighbours to their countrymen, and the Danes, who for four centuries had been separated from their nation by a wide and stormy sea. A similar answer may be given to his remarks on the same subject elsewhere. Dr Gillies had observed, that the colonies of the Pelasgi continued, in the fifth century before Christ, to inhabit the southern coast of Italy, and the shores of the Hellespont: and in those widely-separated countries, their ancient affinity was recognized in the uni-

* Dissertation on Scythians or Goths, p. 83.

formity of their rude dialect, and barbarous manners, extremely dissimilar to the customs and language of their Grecian neighbours.*

This, replies Mr Pinkerton, militates not in the least against the Greeks being Pelasgi, and their tongue Pelasgic, as their own writers uniformly say. For the Greek tongue had been thrown into a ferment by a slight mixture of Phenician, and had been purified with all the art and attention of the wisest and most ingenious men in the world. It was the Pelasgic, but the Pelasgic refined, as the English is from the Saxon. No wonder that in Greece, a country where every city was as it were a distinct people, some few cities, and some mountaineers and islanders, should have retained the old dialect, and that it was as dissimilar from polished Greek, as Saxon from English; and should also, from detached situation, have kept up the old barbaric manners.†

But whence came those Pelasgians who, in the midst of general improvement, chose to retain the barbaric manners of their ancestors, and to speak a language which their kinsmen in the south could not understand? "They were," says the author of the Dissertation, "either some who had returned from Italy, after being defeated by the Aborigines about the time of the Trojan war, if we credit Dionysius of Halicarnassus; or others who, according to Herodotus, had lately come from Samothrace. So that these scattered fragments of Pelasgi must not be confounded with the later Greeks, being only remnants of old colonies expelled from Italy, or late migrations of small parties from Thrace, the parent country of the Pelasgi; and that they retained their primitive barbaric speech and man-

* History of Greece, vol. i. p. 6.
† Dissertation on Scythians or Goths, p. 84.

ners, was a necessary consequence of their late arrival from remote and uncultivated regions. These later Pelasgi," he repeats, "had lately come from Italy and Samothrace, and retained their old speech and manners; and this singularity puzzled Herodotus, who knew that, by all accounts, the Greeks were Pelasgi, as he himself repeatedly mentions, yet found that a few detached Pelasgi did not speak Greek, but the old Scythic tongue."*

This hypothesis, it is manifest, is still clogged with the incredible supposition that one language could arise out of another, so different from it, too, as not to be understood by the same people, in the midst of a constant intercourse between the parent country and the colonies; that is, between the very tribes who are described as becoming, in the meanwhile, ignorant of each other's speech! Among migratory hordes, such as the Scythians were who continued to live on the very borders of Greece, we are almost entitled to presume, that a large portion of the inhabitants must have been incessantly in motion; those in the north moving southwards, and those in the south seeking a change of residence in a less crowded country. But, at all events, the Scythians in Greece Proper were at no great distance from the Scythians in Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace. No strange people dwelt between them: No foreign tongue was heard to confound their language: No conqueror interposed his authority to restrict their boundaries or prohibit their communication. Was it ever known, then, among kindred nations, occupying contiguous districts of the same country, and following the same pursuits, that such an alteration took place in their speech, as that the words used by the men of one family should cease to

* Dissertation on the Scythians or Goths, p. 65, 66.

be intelligible, or to convey any meaning to the men of another?

Whence, too, arose that astonishing refinement which changed the Scythian language into Greek? It was produced, we are told, by the mixture of a little Phenician; which, fermenting the mass of Scythic vocables, not only leavened the whole lump, but at once effected in it so complete an alteration as to render it quite foreign to those to whom it had a short time before been most familiar. The Scythic tongue was converted into Greek by a slight infusion of Phenician! But, unfortunately for this conjecture, the Phenician and Gothic languages have hardly any resemblance either in their materials or their grammatical arrangement. The former, like the Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Syriac, was comparatively destitute of vocal sounds; the latter, particularly in early times, was remarkable for the number and variety of its vocal enunciations: the one admitted but few changes in the termination of its nouns and verbs; while the other is distinguished by its uncommon flexibility in this respect, and the consequent ease with which it adapts itself to the expression of the multifarious modes of thought, feeling, and action, which belong to civilized life. Besides, there is not in the radical words of the Greek any such similarity to those of the Phenician, as to warrant the conclusion that the first had borrowed from the second so large a portion of its ingredients, as to become thereby an unknown tongue to those who had been familiar with its more simple form. It is, moreover, worthy of remark, that Herodotus, who was a great master of his native language in one of its most ancient dialects, speaks of the Hellenic, not as of a tongue which had undergone a certain modification, and been, by such a process, changed from the antiquated Pelasgic into a more polished idiom of the same speech; but, on

the contrary, he openly and decidedly expresses his opinion that the Hellenic continued to be in his own day what it had been from the earliest times; that the Pelasgic had remained equally fixed and unaltered, and consequently, that the two nations who used them were of different extractions.*

Hence there is not any room for doubt, that Greek was the original language of the country, and spoken by the natives before the Pelasgic invasion; that the other tongue, which for some time prevailed both on the continent and in the islands, was of Phenician origin, and was used in Greece only as long as the victors kept possession of their conquests; and, finally, that the first-mentioned language was again revived upon the departure or defeat of the Pelasgians, and afterwards became known to historians under the name of Hellenic. This opinion, so far from being inconsistent with the notion that the

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* *Herodot.* lib. i. c. 57, 58. Ἐι τουτοισι τεκμαιρομενον δει λεγειν, ἠσαν οἱ Πελασγοι βαρβαρον γλωσσαν ἱεντες. ἐι τοινυν ἠν και παν τοιουτον το Πελασγικον, το Αττικον ἐθνος ἐον Πελασγικον, ἁμα τῃ μεταβολῃ τῃ ἐς Ἑλληνας, και την γλωσσαν μετεμαθε. και γαρ δη ὀυτε οἱ Κρηστωνιῆται ὀυδαμοισι των νυν σφεας περιοικεοντων ἐισιν ὁμογλωσσοι, ὀυτε οἱ πλακιηναι, σφισι δε ὁμογλωσσοι. δηλουσι τε, ὁτι νυν ἐινεικαντο γλωσσης χαρακτῆρα μεταβαινοντες ἐς ταυτα ταχωρια, τουτον ἐχουσιν ἐν φυλακῃ. Το δε Ἑλληνικον γλωσσῃ μεν, ἐπει τε ἐγενετο, ἀιει κοτε τε ἀυτῃ διαχρᾶται, ὡς ἐμοι καταφαινεται ἐιναι.

Mr Beloe, in his loose paraphrastic manner, translates this passage as follows: "Considering them with the above, who founded the cities of Placia and Scylace on the Hellespont, but once lived near the Athenians, together with the people of other Pelasgic towns who have since changed their names, it is upon the whole reasonable to affirm, that they formerly spoke a barbarous language. The Athenians, therefore, who were also of Pelasgic origin, must necessarily, when they came among the Hellenians, have learned their language. It is observable, that the inhabitants of Crestona and Placia speak in the same tongue, but are neither of them understood by the people about them. These circumstances induce me to believe that their language has experienced no change. I am also of opinion that the Hellenian tongue is not at all altered."

May I not add, that, if a difference in language be held as an evidence of a difference in origin, Herodotus did not regard the Pelasgians and the Hellenes as one people?

Greeks were of a Gothic lineage, and that their language was only a polished dialect of the Scythic, tends greatly to confirm that notion, and indeed to support all such arguments for their common origin as are founded upon correct views of the antiquities of both nations. The Pelasgic tongue did not amalgamate with the Hellenic, only because it sprang not from the same stock; and hence, even at the distance of twelve centuries, the tribes who spoke the former were still distinguishable from the proper Grecian people; and were, from their peculiarity of dialect, incapable of holding intercourse with them, either in the way of friendship or of business. Such a result, it is obvious, could never have taken place, had the language of the Pelasgians been the first and general language of the Greeks.

History is silent as to the period when the Pelasgians relinquished their ascendency in the affairs of Greece, and allowed the more ancient inhabitants to resume their sway; but it would appear, that at the time when this change was accomplished, the particular section of that people who had settled in Attica chose to remain; and, adopting the language of the natives, soon melted down among them, and became a Hellenic people. On this account, Herodotus calls the Atticans sometimes Hellenes and sometimes Pelasgians; and it is for this reason, too, that, in reference to the same small clan, he remarks, that the Hellenic nation, when separated from the Pelasgi, were weak: in other words, that the portion of the Pelasgians who chose to become Hellenic, and remain in the country, were, after the departure of the great body of their kinsmen, possessed of little political power. They consented to sacrifice their national characteristics, to adopt the manners and speech of the people in the midst of whom they were to dwell; and thus, says the historian,

when they entered among the Hellenes they must have found it necessary to learn their language.

That the Pelasgic language was Phenician, is rendered very probable by an observation of Diodorus Siculus; who, speaking of the letters which had been brought from Phenicia by Cadmus, remarks, that the poet Linus gave to each its name and characteristic figure. Hence, adds the historian, these letters were *in general* called Phenician, because they were brought from the Phenicians to the Greeks; but, in a *more restricted sense*, they were called Pelasgic, because the Pelasgians were the first who used them among the latter people.*

I know that a version very different from the above has been given by some writers, without much regard either to the meaning of the passage or to the consistency of the context. By one author Diodorus has been made to say that the Cadmean letters were called Phenician, as being brought from that country; "but their *proper* letters, which the Pelasgi first used with the changed characters, were denominated Pelasgic."† The reader must have some inclination to ask who are the parties meant in this extract, in reference to whom it is said, "but *their* proper letters, which the Pelasgi first used, were denominated Pelasgic?" In the original there is no authority for these words. Diodorus simply relates, that the letters in question were *generally* (κοινῃ) called Phenician, because, they were brought to the Greeks from the Phenicians; but that, more strictly and peculiarly, (ἰδίᾳ being here placed in contradistinction to κοινῃ), they were called Pe-

* Κοινῃ μεν ουν τα γραμματα Φοινικα κληθῆναι, διὰ το παρα τους Ἕλληνας ἐκ Φοινικων μετενεχθῆναι. ἰδίᾳ δε των Πελασγῶν πρωτων χρησαμενων τοις μετατεθεισι χαρακτηρσι, Πελασγικα προσαγορευθῆναι.—*Diod. Sic.* lib. iii. c. 66..

† Dissertation on the Historical Proofs of the Scythian Origin of the Greeks, p. 61.

lasgic, because the Pelasgians were the first who used them, in the country concerning which he was writing. The learned antiquary, whose opinion I have quoted, translates ἰδία as an adjective agreeing with the word γράμματα understood,—an expedient for confirming his hypothesis, which is equally opposed to the plain sense and grammatical structure of the original language, and which, in fact, on the latter ground alone, is altogether inadmissible.

It is acknowledged, that the text of Diodorus, as it now stands, is not perfectly pure. The expression μετατίθεσι—the note of an ignorant scholiast—has been introduced into the body of the composition, and thereby considerably obscured the meaning of the author. It is extremely improbable, that the letters which were altered by Linus would be called Pelasgic, merely because the Pelasgians were among the first to introduce the improvement; it being more usual to distinguish an invention by the name of the person who made it, than by the name of those who might choose to avail themselves of its advantages. Besides, the Pelasgians were in Greece some centuries prior to the time of Cadmus, and had the use of letters long before his arrival from Phenicia. In truth their power was greatly on the decline when this son of Agenor first set his foot in the European isles. They had already relinquished or been expelled from a great part of the territory which they previously possessed; on which account it is very unlikely that the introduction, by Linus, of the improved form of the Phenician alphabet, could have been associated with the literary renown of the Pelasgian colonists in Greece. It seems, therefore, to follow, in the first place, as a natural consequence, that the letters which the Pelasgians used were not those which were altered by the poet, and hence that the word μετατίθεσι should be expunged from the text of Diodorus; and, secondly, that as the Pelasgians did

actually use Phenician letters, which, from this very circumstance, were by the Greeks denominated Pelasgic, the people themselves must have been of Phenician extraction.*

I shall conclude this long discussion by transcribing a few observations from the learned work of Bishop Cumberland, entitled Origines Gentium Antiquissimæ. "I may be asked," says he, "whence I think their name is derived? I answer, that a probable conjecture is all that is necessary to prove an etymology; and that if I fail in that, the proof of the fact by good testimonies is not weakened. My opinion is, that their name comes from πελαγιοι, by inserting the letter s, which was usually done in ancient times; and such were the times when this name was first given. For one example of this, he is called Masnes in Dionysius Halicarnassensis, who is Manes in Herodotus. More may be seen in the learned Salmasius' notes upon Tertullian de Pallio: Such are, Casmænæ for Camænæ, Casmillus for Camillus, Dusmus for Dumus. For, I believe, it only signifies that they were strangers that came by sea (πελαγος) to settle more commodiously than they were before: so that they might be adventurers of any tribe, family, or nation; or mixed of many that would agree to seek their fortune by shipping into another country. It is agreed that the Greek word πελαγος comes from the

* Pelasgi enim Cadmo multis annis sunt priores, literasque usurparunt diu ante ejus adventum: porro Deucalionis aevo, cum aquæ magnam Græciæ partem inundarent, varia quidem scripta pariter ac homines absorpta sunt, literas servarunt Pelasgi, teste Eustath. in Iliad. B. Ad hoc insolens admodum est ut res inventa non ab auctore nomen nanciscatur, sed ab illis, qui primi ea usi fuerunt: denique fieri vix potuit, ut post Cadmi in Bœotiam adventum literæ a Pelasgis, ea regione et vicinia magnam partem a Deucalione et ejus posteris jam tum dejectis, appellitarentur. Itaque aut falsus est Diodorus, et, quem sequitur, Dionysius, quæ viri amplissimi opinio, aut ex superioribus imprudenter hic inculcatum est το μετατεθεισι quod quidem si hinc emigraret, et gloriam antiquissimarum literarum Pelasgis relinqueret, et his nos difficultatibus expediret.—*Wesselingii Notæ in Diod. Sicul.* lib. iii. c. 66.

eastern פלג *divisit*, the sea being the great divider of several countries from each other: and from thence also the Pelasgi, being some of the earliest dispersers of themselves, and dividing lands among themselves as first occupants, may have taken their name; they being the first or second planters after the dispersion.

"They were, by this name, distinguished from the Hyperborei that came out of the northern parts of Asia, by the land that lies north of the Euxine sea, and thence into Thrace, or over the Bosphorus, and so by land into Greece. They were also distinguished by this name from all that pretended to be Αυτοχθονες, either as springing out of the earth, or because their ancestors had, beyond all memory of men, or of records, been born in Greece; and from all those societies of men that took their name from their commanders, as the Danai, Dores, Iones, and Heraclidæ did in after ages. But the Pelasgi pretended only to come by sea from foreign parts to choose a military life, (as Ephorus expresses it in Strabo), and to settle themselves by their swords in countries that, in those early times, were but thinly peopled, or altogether uninhabited; yet must be defended by their swords against neighbours who might encroach upon them or invade them. And he tells us, that all that joined themselves to them took the same name of Pelasgi."*

* Postquam finivissem quæ præcedunt de Pelasgorum origine, et primis sedibus, occurrit mihi locus in Epiphanii cap. primo, prope ejus finem, qui visus est mihi plurimum confirmare eam quam conceperam de eorum antiquitate opinionem. Epiphanius enim ibi tractans de initiis cultus idololatrici apud Græcos, quorum antiquissimi fuerunt Pelasgi, affirmat *ea initia prius excogitata fuisse apud Babylonios, Phœnices, Phryges, et Egyptios.* Addit *hæc initia et mysteria μετενεχθεντα εις Ἑλληνας ἀπο της Αιγυπτων χωρας ὑπο του Καδμου, και ἀυτου του Ιναχου.* Hinc statim observavi non solum Cadmum ab Ægypto venisse, ritusque idololatricos inde ad Thebas Bœotias transtulisse, quod apud plures est in confesso, verum etiam ipsum Inachum—qui 400 circiter annos eo antiquior fuit—in Peloponnesum postea dictam, mysteria hujusmodi vana apportasse.—*Orig. Gen. Antiquiss.* pag. 295, 296, 300.

Many generations passed away before the affairs of Greece had assumed such a form as to render them a fit subject for history. Thucydides, in the retrospect which he takes of the early annals of his country, admits that a long period elapsed before laws were instituted or the claims of property were respected. Violence and robbery were regarded as proofs of high birth and a courageous spirit. The richest portions of the soil, which attracted most readily the avarice of hungry adventurers, were constantly changing their inhabitants; the weaker always giving way to the stronger, and the smaller to the more numerous party. Some came by land from the north, others by sea from the south and east; but all were prepared to secure a possession in the land, whether by arms or by stratagem. The rich vales of Thessaly, where the means of subsistence could be obtained at little expense of toil, were often disputed by the savage invaders in actual war. On such occasions the vanquished retired, either to avenge their losses upon some feebler clan, or to seek a territory not yet appropriated, and at a greater distance from the current of migration. Those who were pressed by a superior force, says Thucydides, quitted their possessions with very little regret; knowing that daily food and a temporary shelter could be found elsewhere, and never feeling anxious for any thing more permanent. But, he justly adds, that, being always uncertain when a tribe more powerful than themselves might covet their land and expel them from it, they had no encouragement to build, to plant, or to make provision in any way beyond their actual and urgent necessities.*

* *Thucyd.* lib. i. c. 2. οὐδὲ γὴν φυτευοντες (ἀδηλον ὀν ὁτοτε τις ἐπελθων, και ἀτειχιστων ἁμα ὀντων αλλος ἀφαιρησεται) της δε καθ' ἡμεραν ἀναγκαιου τροφης παντα χου ἀν ἡγουμενοι ἐπικρατειν, οὐ χαλεπως ἀπανισταντο· και δι' αυτο, οὐτε μεγεθει πολεων ἰσχυον, οὐτε τη αλλη παρασκευη μαλιστα δε της γης ἡ ἀριστη ἀει τας μεταβολας των οἰκητορων ἰσχεν.

Nor was the sea more propitious to industry and peace than the shores which it surrounded. On the contrary, it afforded the means of more sudden attacks and of safer retreats to the marauding hordes who occupied the neighbouring islands. In the earlier times, their avidity was gratified with the capture of herds and flocks; but, at a later period, when the pursuits of agriculture began to give value to human labour, and to suggest the advantages of an increased population, the robbers of the sea extended their ravages to the abduction of women and children. The first check which was imposed upon this ferocious piracy, arose from the establishment of a regular government in Crete, about the middle of the fifteenth century before the Christian era. It is in that island where, according to the lineage of the Grecian mythology, we meet with the oldest branch of the family of the gods, represented as the actual sovereigns of a prosperous community, formed under their eyes, and protected by their wisdom: whence we may conclude, it was in this insular kingdom, so fortunate in its situation and climate, that the colonists from Egypt and the Syrian coast first introduced among Europeans the obscure and debasing mysteries of hero-worship.

The fame of Minos is inseparably connected with the institutions of Crete; but so dubious and contradictory are all the traditions which have been transmitted concerning him, that it remains still undetermined whether he was a native or a foreigner, and whether there were two princes of the name, or only one. Our admiration, however, is not the less excited by contemplating that system of laws which, in an age of savage ignorance and violence, enforced civil order, and secured the blessings of freedom to the Cretan people; and which was not only the model of the wonderful polity made known to us in the records

of Lacedemon, but appears to have also been the general fountain of Grecian legislation and jurisprudence, and extolled as such by the greatest sages and statesmen who adorned the brightest periods of literature and philosophy.*

From the outlines still preserved of the Cretan constitution, we find that its leading principle was, that all freemen should be equal, and that all labour, whether agricultural or domestic, should be performed by slaves. The whole land was, therefore, held as public property, and cultivated for the general advantage; the men ate together at common tables, and their women and children were maintained from the same source. The youth were trained to the exercises and privations of military life, and taught to regard moderation, temperance, and self-denial, as the greatest virtues of free-born citizens. In war, the power of the sovereign was extensive, because when in the field he was recognized rather as a commander than as a civil magistrate: but no sooner were their arms laid aside than the Cretans resumed those habits of independence, which they esteemed as the dearest privilege of their social condition.†

The laws and usages of Crete have accordingly been thought to bear a closer resemblance to the polity of a camp than to that of an ordinary community. It is probable, that a form of society so extremely singular originated in the successful inroads of some warlike adventurers from the Egyptian or Syrian coast; who, after conquering the inhabitants who had no means of escape from the island, stripped them of their arms, and ended by re-

* Mitford's History of Greece, vol. i. p. 22.

† Plato de Legibus, lib. i. Aristot. Polit. lib. vii. c. 2. Mitford, vol. 1. p. 23.

ducing them to a state of permanent slavery. Nor is it unlikely that the military rulers of Crete had migrated from different countries at sundry periods; for Homer, we find, enumerates no fewer than five separate tribes who used as many particular languages, and all enjoying, at the same time, the rights of independent freemen.*

There is no doubt, however, that Greece was indebted for much of its earliest civilization to the ascendency of the Cretans as a nautical power. Minos, a name which may be understood, perhaps, to represent a dynasty of kings, is said to have kept a number of ships in constant employment against the pirates who infested the Grecian seas; and his exertions for this benevolent purpose were attended with so favourable a result, that he at length established perfect security throughout the whole of the Ægean.† Before his reign, we are told that the devastations committed by the maritime freebooters were such as to have frightened the inhabitants away from the coasts as well of the islands as of the continent itself: no soil was cultivated except at a great distance from the sea; and no town or village was seen to rise but in the interior parts of the country. It was not until this evil was suppressed that the people of Greece were enabled to avail themselves of the numerous havens and creeks with which their shores abound. Piracy was then succeeded by the more peaceful and advantageous pursuits of commerce: ports were excavated or fortified; cities were built in the neighbourhood

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* Κρητη τις γαι' ἐστι, μεσῳ ἐν οἰνοπι ποντῳ
Καλη και πιειρα, περιρρυτος. ἐν δ' ἀνθρωποι
Πολλοι, ἀπειρεσιοι, και ἐννηκοντα πολεις.
Αλλη δ' αλλων γλωσσα μεμιγμενη· ἐν μεν Αχαιοι,
Ἐν δ' Ἐτεοκρητες μεγαλητορες, ἐν δε Κυδωνες,
Δωριεες τε τριχαικες, διοι τε Πελασγοι.—
Odyss. lib. xix. v. 172—177.

† Thucydid. lib. i. c. 3, 4, 7.

of their arsenals and marts; and, at length, the ingenious and enterprising spirit of the Greeks found full scope in the trade of Egypt, of Tyre, and of Sidon.

But the exploits of Minos and his successors soon become so deeply involved in fable, that history is compelled to turn away from them, in despair of ever being able to fix their date or prove their truth. The Grecian writers, it is probable, took the greatest interest in such occurrences as respected their own country, properly so called; and hence it is, perhaps, that we have a more particular account of Cecrops and Danaus, than of those wise and politic sovereigns of Crete who first accustomed the neighbouring savages to the influence of law and the fears of religion.

About the middle of the sixteenth century before our era, Cecrops, an Egyptian prince, led a body of men into Attica; where he founded, or perhaps only increased, a civil community, which, under various forms, has acquired a greater degree of fame, and made a more lasting impression on the literary opinions and political sentiments of European nations, than any other ancient people whatsoever. Desirous to find a place of residence which might at once combine the advantages of internal security and a ready communication with the sea, he was induced to select the memorable position of Athens; which, with its rock for a castle, and its bay for shipping, promised for his intended city all the strength, convenience, and riches, upon which its future influence and prosperity were found to have their chief dependence.

Ogyges, it is true, has had the reputation of being the first king of Attica; and his name, as every one knows, is associated with a great event, which is said to have changed in that country the aspect of things during a long period of desolation and alarm. But, if there be

any truth in the traditions which have been handed down by Strabo and Pausanias, we have reason to conclude that he was rather the ruler of a district in Bœotia; the fields and cities of which are reported to have been overwhelmed by a deluge, which compelled the inhabitants to seek refuge in the hilly country of Attica. Bœotia, it is said, was anciently called Ogygia; and it is added, that two of the cities which were destroyed bore the names of Athens and Eleusis. But in these facts is comprehended all our knowledge concerning the kingdom of Ogyges; or if other fragments of information remain, they rather tend to darken our views, by confounding the history of Thebes in Bœotia with that of Thebes in Upper Egypt.*

No record remains to connect the history of the first sovereigns of Attica with the times of Cecrops, who holds the next place in the list of her rulers. The latter is represented as having divided the country into twelve districts, in every one of which was a town or village, where he caused justice to be administered agreeably to a code of laws which he had sufficient influence to establish and enforce. He likewise improved the art of war; having soon found it necessary to adopt defensive measures against the natives of some of the older states, who envied the prosperity or dreaded the growing power of the Egyptian colony. He built a fortress on the hill which commanded his infant city; and, calling it Cecropia, in reference to his own family and people, he committed it to the tutelary protection of his national goddess, Neith, better known to the classical reader as Athena and Minerva.

In a work on Grecian mythology written by Dr Samuel Musgrave, an attempt is made to prove that Cecrops was

* Strabo, lib. ix. Pausan. lib. ix. c. 24. Euripid. Phen. v. 1130. Soph. Œdip. Col. v. 1853.

not an Egyptian but a native Greek. "There seems to be no reason, he remarks, for the assertion that a part of Greece, and particularly Athens, was peopled by colonies from Egypt. This opinion is countenanced by Strabo and Diodorus Siculus; but the first broacher of it, I believe, was the historian Theopompus. So says Proclus; and also that he was flatly contradicted by others, who charged him with spreading the story out of mere prejudice. The Athenians also, as we learn from Lucian, considered it as the height of paradox to talk of Cecrops as a foreigner. Let us consider the authorities, therefore, as equal, and weigh the story according to probability. We know a good deal of the Egyptian customs, though not much, with certainty, of their history. The Grecian customs we know still better. Now, between these two there is a total diversity. The Egyptians were circumcised: the Greeks held that practice in contempt and derision. The Egyptians indulged themselves in a plurality of wives: the Greeks were permitted to have no more than one; and of this law, Cecrops, the pretended Egyptian, was the author. In Egypt, according to Sophocles, weaving and other domestic business was carried on by the men; and the care of providing food was left to the female. In Greece, the contrary and more rational custom prevailed. In Egypt, it is said to have been a rule that the son should follow his father's profession: in Greece, no traces of such a rule are to be found. The Egyptians worshipped animals and plants: the Greeks despised and ridiculed this superstition. The Egyptians paid a scrupulous attention to nativities and the aspect of the planets: in the Grecian history, among the various ways of inquiring into futurity by oracles, the flight of birds, inspection of entrails and the like, there is not a single instance of any attempt to calculate nativities.

Lastly, the Egyptians were particularly studious to preserve the dead body from dissolution by their careful and costly method of embalming; whereas the Greeks, by committing it immediately to the fire, seem to have been desirous of promoting its dissolution."*

These remarks, unquestionably, are not altogether undeserving of consideration: but it will be found, even when their full weight has been allowed to them, that they prove nothing more than a reluctance on the part of the native Greeks to receive from the strangers, who successively landed on their shores, all the customs and religious rites to which the latter had been accustomed. That the Athenians were a mixed people is acknowledged, however unwillingly, by the best of their own historians: and that both their language and superstitions were very much modified by an early intercourse with Egypt, has been the opinion of many able writers in ancient as well as in modern times. If, on this subject, the testimony of the Egyptians themselves may be held of any value, no doubt will remain as to the principal fact in question: for Diodorus Siculus informs us that, among many other colonies which they assured him they had sent into various parts of the world, they mentioned the establishment of their countrymen at Athens as one of the most important.† They were so minute in their details as to name the particular place from which it had migrated, a small town in the district of Saïs: and hence, as Plato relates, the Saïtes claimed a relationship with the Athenians, whom they had ever regarded in the light of kinsmen. They farther stated that Erechtheus, who is commonly reckoned

* Strabo, lib. vii. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. c. 28. Procl. in Platon. Timæum. Soph. Œdip. Col. v. 330.

† Diod. Sicul. lib. i. c. 28.

the sixth king of Athens, was an Egyptian; who, on account of the original lineage of the inhabitants of that city, sent to them, in the time of a severe famine, a great quantity of corn; in return for which he was invited to assume the government of Attica.

The Greeks, while they in fact admit the truth of this narrative, attempt to conceal its literal import by throwing over it the cloak of mythological fable. They record that, during the reign of Erechtheus, there was in the Athenian territory a great scarcity of food, occasioned by an unusual drought; from the pressure of which they were seasonably delivered by the arrival of Ceres, the goddess of agriculture, who forthwith provided them with an ample supply. The sages of Egypt explain this mystical occurrence by suggesting that their countryman, along with the corn which he conveyed into Attica, carried also the religious service peculiar to the divinity who presided over the fruits of the earth; and that having established the foreign worship at Eleusis, he had the satisfaction to see it gain ground among the superstitious Greeks under the name of the Eleusinian mysteries. If it be admitted that there was at that time an importation of corn into Attica, it could hardly be from any other country than Egypt, which, owing to its physical circumstances, could not suffer famine from the want of rain; the cause of the dearth which at the period in question afflicted not only the several states of Greece, but, according to Diodorus Siculus, every other part of the known world, except the land of the Pharaohs.

From the various accounts which have been selected from ancient history, we are enabled to arrive at the assurance that there was a certain connection between the Saïtes and the Athenians; and that either the Saïtes were a colony of the Athenians, or the latter a colony of the

former. The learned cannot hesitate as to which of these alternatives they ought to adopt: for while it is certain that many bands of adventurers emigrated from Egypt into various parts of the world, and even into Greece, there is not the slightest evidence on record that any colony ever removed from Greece into Egypt. Farther still, says the erudite and ingenious author of the "Origin and Progress of Language," not only does it thus appear in general that the Athenians were a colony of the Saïtes; but I think we know particularly at what time, and by whom, this colony was settled in Athens. For it appears to me that the colony was led by Cecrops, the first king of Athens, some time after the Ogygian deluge which had desolated Attica. That this first Athenian king was an Egyptian, is a fact that I think incontestable: and it appears also certain, that he came from Saïs in Egypt. Diodorus, though his vanity as a Greek made him unwilling to believe that the principal city of Greece was an Egyptian colony, yet, as a faithful historian, he has fairly given us the arguments which the Egyptians used to convince the Greeks of the truth of the fact. They said that there was a great conformity betwixt the religious and civil institutions of the people of Saïs and those of the Athenians: and among other particulars, he mentions the division of the people of both cities into three classes of the same kind.*

Among the arguments here alluded to by Lord Monboddo, there is one which seems to carry with it a great degree of conviction. The Egyptians informed Diodorus that the colony went from a town in the district of Saïs, the name of which was *Asty*; and this name they gave to

* Origin and Progress of Language, vol. i. p. 645. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. c. 28. Plato in Timæo. Mitford's Greece, vol. i. p. 43, &c.

the city which they founded in Greece.* In support of their conclusion they maintained, what was unquestionably true, that the Athenians were the only people in Greece who gave that name to their city: for the word ἀστυ is not the general name for a city in Greek, except among the poets, but a name peculiar to the city of Athens, and no doubt a foreign word, which the Athenians preserved without altering it, or affixing to it the ordinary Greek termination. Aristotle has told us that there are only five nouns in Greek which end in the vowel υ, of which αστυ is one: and it is very probable, that they are all exotic terms, which, for some reason or other, the polite writers of Greece had allowed to remain in their original form.†

Nor is there greater room for doubt that many of the superstitious rites practised in Greece were originally borrowed from Egypt. "Here," says Herodotus, "are represented by night the accidents which happened to him whom I dare not name: the Egyptians call them their mysteries. Concerning these, at the same time that I confess myself sufficiently informed, I feel myself compelled to be silent. Of the ceremonies in honour of Ceres, which the Greeks calls Thesmophoria, I may not venture to speak, farther than the obligations of religion will allow me. They were brought from Egypt by the daughters of Danaus, and by them revealed to the Pelasgian women."‡

The opinion now stated is still farther confirmed by the

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* Και τους Αθηναιους φασιν ἀποικους ἐιναι Σαιτων των ἐξ Αιγυπτου· Και πειρωνται της οἰκειοτητος ταυτης φερειν ἀποδειξεις· Παρα μονοιο γαρ των Ἑλληνων την πολιν ΑΣΤΥ καλεισθαι μετενηνεγμενης της προσηγοριας ἀπο του παρ' ἀυτοις ἀστεος.

† Origin and Progress of Language, vol. i. p. 646.

‡ Και της Δημετρος τελετης περι, την οἱ Ἑλληνες Θεσμοφορια καλεουσι, και ταυτης μοι ἐυστομα κεισθω, πλην ὁσον ἀυτης ὁσιη ἐστι λεγειν. αἱ Δαναου θυγατερες ἠσαν αἱ την τελετην ταυτην ἐξ Αιγυπτου ἐξαγαγουσι καὶ διδαξασι τας Πελασγιωτιδας γυναικας.—*Herod.* lib. ii. c. 174.

learned researches of Mr Bryant, who saw no reason to doubt either that Cecrops was an Egyptian emigrant, or that much of the literature and mysticism of Greece had been conveyed from the banks of the Nile.

"The sons of Japhet," says he, "did people the isles of the Gentiles; by which is meant the regions of Greece and Europe, separated in great measure from the Asiatic continent by the intervention of the sea. They certainly were the first inhabitants of those countries. But the Helladians, though by family Ionians, were not of this race. They came afterwards; and all their best writers agree, that when their ancestors made their way into these provinces, they were possessed by a prior people. Who these were is no where uniformly said: only they agree to term them in general Βαρβαροι, or a rude uncivilized people.

Ἑκαταιος μεν ουν ὁ Μιλησιος περι της Πελοποννησου φησιν, ὁτι προ των Ἑλληνων ωκησαν αυτην Βαρβαροι· σχεδον δε τι και ἡ συμπασα Ἑλλας κατοικια Βαρβαρων ὑπηρξατο το παλαιον. Strabo. l. 7. p. 321.

Εισι δε ἡμων αρχαιοτεροι Βαρβαροι. Plato in Cratylo. vol. 1. p. 425.

Παλαι της νυν καλουμενης Ἑλλαδος Βαρβαροι τα πολλα ωκησαν. Pausanias. l. 1. p. 100.

Αρκαδιαν Βαρβαροι ωκησαν. Scholia Apollonii Rhod. l. 3. v. 461.

Diodorus mentions, Αθηναιους—αποικους Σαϊτων των εξ Αιγυπτου. l. 1. p. 24.

Again—Γενομεναι δε και των ἡγεμονων τινας Αιγυπτιους παρα τοις Αθηναιοις. ibidem.

Africanus having spoken of the Egyptian rites, says, Ὁτι τι Αθηναιους των αυτων Αιγυπτιοις απολαυειν εικος ην, αποικους εκειν νι αποτομενους, ὡς φασιν ἀλλοι τε, και εν τω Τρικαρηνω Θεοπομπος. Apud Euseb. Præp. Evan. l. x. c. x. p. 491.

Concerning persons from Egypt.

Κεκροψ, Αιγυπτιος ων, δυο γλωσσας ηπιστατο. Cedrenus. p. 82.

Κεκροψ, Αιγυπτιος το γενος, ωκισε τας Αθηνας. Scholia Aristoph. Pluti.

Ωσδε απο Σαιως πολεως Αιγυπτιας,
Μετα τον κατα Ωγυγον κατακλυσμον εκεινον,
Ο Κεκροψ παρεγενετο Αθηναις της Ελλαδος. J. Tzetzes. Chil. v. hist. 18.

Κεκροψ, Αιγυπτιος το γενος, ωκησε τας Αθηνας. Suidas.

Pausanias mentions Λελεγα αφικομενον εξ Αιγυπτου. l. 1. p. 95.

Erechtheus from Egypt. Και τον Ερεχθεα λεγουσι το γενος Αιγυπτιον οντα. Diodorus. l. 1. p. 25.

Triptolemus from thence, who had been the companion of Osiris. Diodorus. l. 1. p. 17. He gave the Athenians laws. Porphyry mentions Των Αθηνησι νομοθετων Τριπτολεμον. Abstinent. l. 4. p. 431.

It is said, that Danaus was a native of the city Chemmis; from whence he made his expedition to Greece. Δαναος Χεμμιτης. Herodotus. l. 2. c. 91.

Navem primus ex Ægypto Danaus advexit. Pliny. l. 7. c. 56. He brought a colony with him. Λεγουσι δε τους περι Δαναον ορμηθεντας ομοιως εκειθεν, scil. εξ Αιγυπτου. Diodorus. l. 1. p. 24.

It is said by Sanchoniathon, that Cronus, in his travels over the earth in company with his daughter Athena, came to Attica; which he bestowed upon her. Euseb. P. E. lib. 1. c. 10. p. 38.

This is not unlike the account given by the Scholiast upon Lycophron concerning Cecrops: from whence the legend may receive some light. Ελθων αφ' (ο Κεκροψ) απο Σαεως πολεως Αιγυπτου τας Αθηνας συνωκισε. Σαϊς δε κατ' Αιγυπτιους η Αθηνα λεγεται, ως φησιν Χαραξ. Lycoph. v. 111. Schol.

Hence it is, that almost the whole of the mythology of

Greece is borrowed from Egypt. Καθολου δε, φησι, τους Ἑλληνας ἐξιδιασισθαι τους επιφανεστατους Αιγυπτιων Ἡρωας τε, και Θεους. Diodorus. l. 1. p. 20. All their rites and ceremonies were from the same quarter.

Παντηγυριας δι αρα, πομπας, και προσαγωγας πρωτοι ανθρωπων Αιγυπτιοι ὑσιν, οἱ ποιησαμενοι, και παρα τουτων Ἑλληνες μεμαθηκασι. Herod. l. 3. c. 58.

Επειτα χρονου πολλου διελθοντος, ἐπυθοντο (οἱ Ἑλληνες) ἐκ της Αιγυπτου ἀπικομενα τα ὀνομαται των Θεων. Herod. l. 2. c. 52. See also l. 2. c. 4.

It, therefore, appears manifest that the strictures of Dr Musgrave on the opinion of Theopompus, are not supported on such a basis of learning and historical testimony as to induce us to relinquish the conclusions of those older and more profound writers who believed in the Egyptian origin of Cecrops.*

In the history of this chief there is a reference made to the Ogygian deluge, of which the horror and desolation had compelled the inhabitants of Bœotia to leave the plains of their native country, and to seek an asylum in the mountains of Attica. About half a century after the foundation of Athens, a similar event is said to have

* The hypothesis of Musgrave appears to have been founded upon the following passage in the work already mentioned, the "Origin and Progress of Language," vol. i. p. 640. "That the Athenians were a colony of the Saïtes was the opinion of Theopompus, a very learned Greek historian, whose diligence, and the expense as well as the pains he was at to inform himself of facts, and particularly concerning the origin of nations and cities, Dionysius the Halicarnassian very much commends. The work of Theopompus is lost; but the fact is related by Eusebius in his Præparatio Evangelica, lib. x. c. 10; and also by Proclus, the philosopher, in his Commentary upon the Timæus of Plato; who informs us, at the same time, that Callisthenes and Phanodemus averred the contrary of this, viz. that the Saïtes were a colony of the Athenians; and he mentions Atticus, a Platonic philosopher of later times, who says that Theopompus, through envy, invented the story. And he adds, that, in Atticus's time, there came certain persons from Saïs to Athens to renew their relation and connection with the Athenians."

occurred under the eye of Deucalion, which was attended with results not much different from those that have been already described. The survivors, as before, fled to the Athenian territory; related in glowing terms the dreadful visitation which had fallen upon their countrymen; and thereby created, in the susceptible minds of their hearers, those exaggerated notions of a universal cataclysm which have ever since loaded the fictions of poetry, and disturbed the reflections of the philosopher and the divine. Some of the fathers of the Christian church, ignorant of the physical history of the globe, and not understanding sufficiently the traditions of their pagan brethren on this subject, denied that there had ever been a local flood in any part of Greece; but ascribed all that had been said respecting such an event to an imperfect acquaintance with the sacred oracles, in which it was imagined some of the more inquisitive of their sages might have perused the record of the Mosaical deluge. Theophilus of Antioch, for example, in his second address to Autolycus, speaks of Noah and Deucalion as being the same person: Νωε, ὃς κεκληται ὑπο ἑτιων Δευκαλιων: And Philo Judæus, it has been observed by a learned author, adopted the same opinion. Ἑλληνες μεν Δευκαλιωνα, Χαλδαιοι δε ΝΩΕ Ἐπονομαζουσιν, ἐφ' ὁυ τον μεγαν κατακλυσμον συνεβη γενεσθαι, that is, "the Greeks called the person Deucalion, but the Chaldeans called him Noah; in whose time there happened the great eruption of waters."*

These views have been followed out to a great length by the celebrated Jacob Bryant, who, in his able work on Ancient Mythology, has attempted to explain all the fancies and superstitions of profane antiquity upon prin-

* Philo Jud. de præmio et pœna. Bryant's Ancient Mythology, vol. i. p. 23.

ciples connected with the Noachic deluge. He undertakes to show that the history of the Flood was religiously preserved in the first ages; that every circumstance of it is to be met with among the historians and mythologists of different countries; and that traces of it are to be particularly found in the sacred rites of Egypt and of Greece. He illustrates with a profusion of learning the leading position of his system, that Noah, the great patriarch, was highly revered by his posterity; that they looked upon him as a person peculiarly favoured by Heaven; that they honoured him with many titles, each of which had a reference to some particular part of his history. They styled him Prometheus, Deucalion, Atlas, Theuth, Zuth, Xuthus, Inachus, Osiris. Noah, says he, was the original Ζευς, Zeus, and Dios. He was the planter of the vine, and the inventor of fermented liquors. He was also Dionusos, the Bacchus of the Latins.*

Without presuming in this cursory inquiry to examine the general grounds of Mr Bryant's system, I may yet venture to question the accuracy of his particular conclusion relative to those traditions, respecting the successive inundations of their country, which prevailed among the historians and mythologists of Greece. It is impossible to survey with the eye of a naturalist the geological structure of Thessaly, without perceiving, at the first glance, that the great valley of which it is principally composed must, at a former period, have been covered with water, and presented to the inhabitants of the neighbouring hills the appearance of a magnificent lake. A sudden dislocation of the rocks which closed the lower end of the valley, and formed as it were a bulwark to check the descent of

* Analysis of Ancient Mythology, vol. i. p. 17.

the current, would occasion a very extensive deluge in Bœotia, Phocis, and the low lands of Attica. Herodotus, whose geographical knowledge cannot be too highly extolled, informs us that Thessaly was in ancient times one vast lake, surrounded on all sides by lofty mountains; on the east by Pelion and Ossa, whose bases meet each other; on the north by Olympus; on the west by Pindus; on the south by Othrys. Into the Thessalian valley, thus formed, several rivers pour their waters, the Peneus, the Apidanus, the Onochonus, the Enipeus, and the Pamicus; all these flowing from the adjoining mountains, at length lose themselves in the Peneus, in whose channel they find their way to the ocean. It is said that, in former days, before this outlet to the sea existed, all these rivers, as well as the lake Bæbeis, were mingled together without any specific name, and that the whole of Thessaly was itself a sea. The Thessalians affirm, he continues, and not without much ground of probability, that the valley through which the Peneus flows was formed by Neptune. Whoever supposes that Neptune causes earthquakes, and that the consequent chasms are the work of that deity, may, on viewing this spot, easily ascribe it to his power. To me, he concludes, the separation of these mountains appears to have been the effect of an earthquake.*

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* Την δε Θεσσαλιην λογος εστι τοπαλαιον ειναι λιμνην, ωστε γε συγκεκλῃσμενην παντοθεν ὑπερμηκεσι ὀυρεσι. τα μεν γαρ αὐτης προς την ἠω ἐχοντα, το, τε Πηλιον ὀυρος και ἡ Ὄσσα ἀποκλῃει, συμμισγοντα τας ὑπωρειας ἀλληλοισι· τα δε προς βορεω ἀνεμου, Ουλυμπος· τα δε προς ἑσπερην, Πινδος· τα δε προς μεσαμβρῃην τε και ἀνεμον νοτον, ἡ Ὄθρυς. το μεσον δε τουτεων των λεχθεντων ὀυρεων ἡ Θεσσαλιη ἐστι, ἐουσα κοιλη. ὡστε ὠν ποταμων και ἀλλων συχνων ἐς αὐτην ἐσβαλλοντων, πεντε δε τῶν δοκιμων μαλιστα τωνδε. Πηνειου, και Ἀπιδανου, και Ὀνοχωνου, και Ἐνιπεος, και Παμισου· οἱ μεν νυν ἐς το πεδιον τουτο συλλεγομενοι ἐκ των ὀυρεων των περικλῃοντων την Θεσσαλιην ὀυνομαζομενοι,

It is remarkable that Xerxes intimidated the Thessalians, by reminding them that all which would be necessary on his part to deluge their country, and convert it once more into a lake, was to stop up the mouth of the Peneus, and thereby throw back its waters upon the surface of the valley.*

The bursting of such lakes is by no means an uncom-

δι ἑνος αὐλωνος και τουτου στεινου, ἐκροον ἐχουσι ἐς θαλασσαν, προσυμμισγοντες το ὑδωρ παντες ἐς ταὐτο· ἐπιαν δε συμμιχθεωσι ταχιστα, ἐνδευτεν ἠδη ὁ Πηνειος των ὀνοματι κατακρατεων, ἀνωνυμους τους ἀλλους ποιεμι ἐιναι. το δε παλαιον λεγεται, ὀυκ ἐοντος κω του αὐλωνος και διεκροου τουτου, τους ποταμους τουτους, και προς τοισι ποταμοισι τουτοισι την Βοιὼιδα λιμνην, ὀυτε ὀνομαζεσθαι καταπερ νυν, ῥειν τε ουδεν ἐσσον ἡ νυν. ῥεοντας δε, ποιεσιν την Θεσσαλιην πασαν πελαγος. αὐτοι μεν νυν Θεσσαλοι φασι Ποσειδεωνα ποιησαι τον αὐλωνα, δι' ὀυ ῥεει ὁ Πηνειος, ὀικοτα λεγοντες. ὀστις γαρ νομιζει Ποσειδεωνα την γην σειειν, και τα διεστιωτα ὑπο σεισμου, του θεου τουτου ἐργα ἐιναι, και ἀν ἐκεινο ἰδων φαιη Ποσειδεωνα ποιησαι. ἐστι γαρ σεισμου ἐργον, ὡς ἐμοι ἐφαινετο ἐιναι, ἡ διαστασις των ὀυρεων.—*Herodotus*, lib. vii. c. 129.

There is, in Philostratus, the description of a picture, in which Neptune is represented in the act of separating the mountains. The tradition, that Ossa and Olympus were anciently different parts of the same mountain, existed from a very remote period in Greece; and, according to Mr Wood, in his Essay on Homer, is not now obliterated. The valley through which the Peneus flows, is the celebrated vale of Tempe, the fruitful theme of many poetical effusions in ancient periods as well as at the present:—

Est nemus Hemoniæ prærupta quod undique claudit
Silva, vocant Tempe, per quæ Peneus ab imo
Effusus Pindo spumosis volvitur undis.
Dejectuque gravis tenues agitantia fumos
Nubila conducit, summasque aspergine sylvas
Implicat, et sonitu plusquam vicina fatigat.—
Ovid. Metam. lib. i. c. 568.

See Strabo, lib. viii. and Beloe's Herodotus, vol. iv. p. 54, note.

* Ἐιρξια δε λεγεται ἐιπειν προς τουτα· "Σοφοι ἀνδρες ἐισι Θεσσαλοι. τουτ' ὠρα προ πολλου ἐφυλαξαντο γνωσιμαχεοντες και τ' ἀλλα, και ὀτι χωρην ὠρα ἰιχον ὐναιρετον τε και ταχυαλωτον. τον γαρ ποταμον πεκημα ἀ ἡν μουνον ἐπεινα σφεων ἐπι την χωρην, χωματι ἐκ του αὐλωνος ἐκπεσασαντα, και παρατρεψαντα δι' ὠν νυν ῥεει ῥεεθρων. ὡστε Θεσσαλιην πασαι ἰσω τω ὀυρεων ὑποβρυχα γενεσθαι."

mon event in mountainous countries. The inhabitants of the Alps have many such catastrophes on record. A sudden thaw, after a long-continued frost, has been known to shake asunder the rocky barrier of an enclosed valley; to give a passage to the waters which had occupied its bosom for ages; and thereby to create dismay and ruin to the unfortunate dwellers in the adjacent plains. But this effect is more commonly produced by those concussions of the earth, which ever and anon proceed from the action of volcanoes in all the elevated parts of the globe. The disengagement of inflammable air among the central strata of a mountain range is more powerful than the trident of Neptune; and is accompanied, too, with results not less destructive than they are confessedly beyond the reach of human calculation and foresight.

There is, moreover, an agent at work, whose constant but imperceptible operation in altering the face of nature, brings to pass, in the lapse of centuries, changes still more striking than even those of the earthquake. The unceasing rush of water over the surface of the rocks, at length wears down their level, and by that means deepens the channel which drains the lake, till at last it is succeeded by a fruitful valley, emerging as it were from its bosom, through which the river then flows, without stagnation, towards the distant sea. Those immense bodies of fresh water which at present cover so large a portion of North America, will in some future age be found to have emptied themselves into the Atlantic; and the soil which they now conceal from the husbandman will then be subjected to the plough, and loaded with luxuriant crops and a crowded population. Mean time, the falls of Niagara will every year gradually diminish in height; Erie will be insensibly deprived of its floods; and the more distant lakes will in their turn yield to the mighty working of that irresistible

law which turns the inland-sea into dry land, and thereby divides the dominion of earth and water.

No one can travel along the course of an ancient river, or examine the plains which stretch from either side on its banks, without perceiving manifest traces of the principle and the process to which I am now alluding. The Danube and the Elbe, for example, present some remarkable tokens to illustrate this part of natural history. The valley of Austria, perhaps, and still more certainly the extensive plains of Moravia and Bohemia, have been drained by the rivers which now pass through them. The mountains at Presburg appear to have opposed in former times the passage of the Danube, and, of course, to have constituted the boundary of a great lake. Bohemia, too, is surrounded with very high land, which in ancient days, while it poured down immense quantities of water, afforded hardly any means for its escape; whence it must be obvious that, before the Elbe wrought out for itself a channel in the Erzegebirge deep enough to remove the stagnating floods which collected in the valley, the greater part of that fine kingdom must have been a lake.

But these considerations, though naturally suggested by the subject before us, do not strictly belong to that branch of it which it is our main object to illustrate. The extract from Herodotus is, indeed, sufficient to remove all doubt as to the fact that, in those districts of Greece bordering immediately upon Thessaly towards the south and east, there were repeated inundations, which carried consternation and loss over a vast extent of country; whence we may conclude, that the traditionary notices which were perpetuated among the Greeks respecting a sore visitation endured by their ancestors from a flood, were founded upon real events exclusively applicable to their own part of the world.

It is no doubt true that such of the Greek writers as lived in Asia Minor, or Assyria, mixed in their narratives the traditions which they heard in those countries, relative to the Noachic deluge, with the reminiscences of their own people respecting the cataclysms of Ogyges and Deucalion. Lucian, for example, who was a native of Samosata, a city of Commagene, on the Euphrates, where we may presume that memorials of the deluge were long preserved and even incorporated with the national superstitions, gives of that event an account which bears upon it the strongest evidence of having been derived in part from the sacred Scriptures. He describes Noah under the name of Deucalion, and then goes on to observe that the actual race of mankind are different from those who first existed; those of the antediluvian ages having been all destroyed. The world that now is was peopled from the sons of Deucalion; the common father of the numerous tribes which at present occupy the surface of the earth. In respect to the former race, they were men of violence, and incapable of being restrained by law. They regarded not oaths, nor observed the rites of hospitality, nor showed mercy to those who sued for it. On this account they were doomed by the divine justice to destruction; to accomplish which, a mighty eruption of waters took place from the bowels of the earth, accompanied with heavy rains from above, so that the rivers swelled, and the sea overflowed, till the whole globe was covered with a flood, and every living thing was destroyed. Deucalion alone was preserved to re-people the world,—an act of mercy which was vouchsafed to him as the reward of his virtue and piety. His preservation was effected in this manner: He put all his family, both their sons and their wives, into a vast ship or float, which he had built; after which he went into it himself. At the same time, animals

of every species, boars, horses, lions, serpents, and whatever else lived on the face of the earth, followed him by pairs: all which he received into the ark; nor did he experience any evil from them; for, by the immediate influence of the Deity, there prevailed a wonderful harmony throughout. He next proceeds to mention, that Deucalion, upon the disappearing of the waters, went forth from his floating sanctuary and raised altars to God; and concludes by assuring his readers that the ark rested at Hierapolis in Syria, where the temple of the goddess was erected, and where the several events of the flood were still commemorated in the religious services of the priests.*

Eusebius has preserved a similar fragment, which he found in the works of Abydenus, supposed to have been obtained by the latter from some very ancient archives among the Medes and Babylonians. The patriarch is here spoken of as a king, whose name was Seisithrus; upon which the historian relates that the flood began upon the fifteenth day of the month Desius; that, during the prevalence of the waters, Seisithrus sent out birds that he might judge whether the flood had abated, but that they, not finding any resting-place, returned to him again. This was repeated three times; when, at last, the birds were found to return with their feet stained with mud; whence he was enabled to conclude, that the waters had at length subsided. Upon this he quitted the ark, and was never more seen of men, having been taken away by the gods from the earth.†

It is manifest that these oriental records could not have been formed without some acquaintance with the inspired

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* Lucian De Dea Syria, quoted by Bryant, vol. iii. p. 27.
† Abyden. apud Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. ix. c. 12.

writings of the Old Testament, or at least with such oral histories of Noah's family as, during the infancy of literature, we may believe to have been very common over the greater part of Asia. Still there is no reason hereby supplied for calling in question the existence of those partial deluges in Greece and other countries, of which the evidence remains clearly marked, not only in the popular traditions of the several districts where the affliction was sustained, but also in the geological structure of the hills and valleys which were the scene of these natural catastrophes.

But, reverting once more to the proper subject of this chapter, I may observe, that Cecrops was not the only Egyptian to whom ancient Greece was indebted for civilization and learning. Danaus also, who afterwards attained to the sovereignty of Argos, is said to have been a native of the same country, and one of the brothers of its king. The events which led to his emigration from Egypt belong to the department of fable, and could have no interest for the reader of historical antiquities. Having failed in an attempt to establish a colony at Rhodes, he proceeded to Argos, where Gelanor was then on the throne, and where he soon rendered himself so useful to the inhabitants, that they solicited him to remain. A great drought happened to prevail about the time when the Egyptians landed, which occasioned a scarcity of water, and all the sufferings which usually attend the absence of that essential necessary of life. Danaus taught them to dig wells; and the relief which was thereby procured excited in the ardent minds of the Greeks a sentiment of gratitude so exceedingly strong, that in their eyes no reward seemed equal to his merits, but the crown of the Argian monarchy.

The Greeks, at the period under consideration, though

themselves extremely rude and unlettered, could appreciate the advantages of knowledge in those who were elevated to the condition of rulers. Perhaps, too, the wealth and arms of the Egyptian prince contributed not a little to confirm his power at Argos; but as the inhabitants of that city were more willing to ascribe their submission to affection than to terror, the accession of the Danaïdæ has usually been concealed from too minute a criticism, by the veil of fable and romance.* Whatever might be the means which ministered to his success, there is no doubt that he not only established his authority in his adopted country during his own reign, but also transmitted it unimpaired to his posterity; and at the same time perpetuated his reputation in the use of a national epithet, which was sometimes extended to all the Grecian states.†

The sceptre passed from Danaus through the hands of Lynceus and Acrisius to a line of princes whose names are immortalized by Homer. The celebrated Danaë was a daughter of the last-mentioned king, and mother of the warlike Perseus; the first of those heroes, whose characters, as unfolded in the works of ancient poets, partake largely of the qualities ascribed to the gods, but whose actions have eluded the most patient researches of the historian and the chronographer. According to Strabo and Pausanias, this son of Danaë was the founder of Mycenæ, which he made the capital of his dominions. Argos appears to have been for some time thereafter governed by a chief magistrate, who retained the title of king; but

* Strabo, lib. viii. Æschyl. Danaid. Pausanias, lib. ii. c. 19.

† Δαναος ὁ πεντηκοντα θυγατερων πατηρ
Ἐλθων εἰς Ἄργος ᾠκισεν Ἰναχου πολιν,
Πελασγιωτας δ' ὀνομοσμενους τοπριν,
Δαναους καλεισθαι νομον ἐθηκ' ἀν' Ἑλλαδα.

it is manifest that, in the days of Homer, this city owed a species of subjection to the other, for in the second book of the Iliad, Agamemnon, the sovereign of Mycenæ, is called the king of many islands, and of all Argos.*

Brief as this historical retrospect must be, I cannot pass over the character of Pelops, whose memory is closely connected with the fortunes as well as with the name of that remarkable peninsula which forms the southern extremity of Greece. He was the son of Tantalus, who, according to some authorities, was king of Phrygia, and according to others the king of Lydia in Asia Minor. Finding it necessary to leave his own country, he passed over, it should seem, in the first instance, into Thessaly; whence he soon afterwards advanced with a body of Achaians, and took possession of Laconia, where he founded a temporary establishment. Having married Hippodamia, the daughter of Œnomaüs, the king of Eleia, he attained in due time to the sovereignty of that state. Like the several adventurers from Egypt, he carried with him into Greece a degree of knowledge in arts and in arms, which enabled him to conciliate the affection or subdue the resistance of the natives: and in the course of a long reign, he so completely established his influence among the neighbouring states, and so firmly rooted in them the various branches of his own family, that when he died, the land which he had entered a stranger was called after his own name. His glory, too, was greatly augmented in that of his posterity, particularly in the persons of Atreus, Agamemnon, and Mene-

* Ατρευς δε θυησκων ελιπε πολυαρνι Θυεστη:
Αυταρ ο αυτε Θυεστ' Αγαμεμνονι λειπε φορηναι,
Πολλησι νησοισι, και Αργει παντι ανασσειν.

laus. His daughter Astydamia was married to Sthenelus, king of Argos, son of Perseus. Their son and successor Eurystheus is celebrated for his enmity to Hercules, who was likewise descended from the houses of Perseus and Pelops; and the events which originated in the personal animosity of these princes hold a distinguished place in the ancient heroic history of Greece, and will form the subject of a section in the following chapter of this book.*

The connection of Grecian and Egyptian history has carried the narrative somewhat beyond the proper period of Cadmus; who, about the year B. C. 1495, conducted a colony from Phenicia into the Bœotian territory. The arrival of this chief has usually been considered as an epoch in the progress of learning among the Greeks. Herodotus remarks, that the "Phenicians who came with Cadmus introduced, during their residence in Greece, the knowledge of various parts of science, and among other things the knowledge of letters, with which, as I conceive, the Greeks were before unacquainted. These were at first such as the Phenicians themselves indiscriminately use; in process of time, however, they were changed both in sound and form. At that period the Greeks who lived nearest this people were the Ionians, who learned these letters of the Phenicians, and, with some trifling variations, received them into common use. As the Phenicians first made them known in Greece, they called them, as justice required, Phenician letters. I myself have seen in the temple of the Ismenian Apollo, at Thebes of Bœotia, these Cadmean letters inscribed upon some tripods, and having a near resemblance to those used by the Ionians."†

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* Strabo, lib. viii. Diod. Sicul. lib. iv. c. 75. Pausan. lib. ii. c. 18. and lib. v. c. 13. Mitford.

† Herodot. lib. v. c. 58, 59. The learned reader will recognize, in the

It is, indeed, generally admitted amongst the learned, both that Cadmus was a Phenician, and also that he communicated to the Greeks the knowledge of certain alphabetical characters with which they were not formerly acquainted. That letters were used in several of the Grecian states long before his arrival, has already on general grounds been shown to be extremely probable; and that the descendants of Phoroneus and Cecrops must have been in possession of the seeds of learning prior to the adventure of the son of Agenor, might be rendered still more manifest by a closer examination of ancient authorities. But my object at present is rather to show that, notwithstanding the clear testimony of many excellent writers, the history of Cadmus is still involved in much mystery and confusion.*

The learned Bochart supposes that he was a member of one of the families mentioned by Moses in the fifteenth chapter of Genesis, namely, the Kadmonites, who are there joined with the Kenites and the Kenizzites. He likewise imagines that Hermione or Harmonia was a native of mount Hermon, situated in one of the countries which were overrun by Joshua. Familiam quod attinet, ex ipso nomine colligimus Κάδμον fuisse קדמוני *Cadmoni*,

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following lines from Lucan, an expression of the opinion entertained by Herodotus:—

> "Phœnices primi, famæ si creditur, ausi
> Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.
> Nondum flumineas Memphis contexere biblos
> Noverat, et saxis tantum, volucresque feræque
> Sculptaque servabant magicas animalia linguas.—
> *Lucan. Pharsal.* lib. iii.

* For an able dissertation on the literature of Phenicia, and on the obligations of the Greeks to that nation for their knowledge of letters, I beg to refer to the twentieth chapter of Bochart's work, entitled Chanaan, seu de Coloniis et Sermone Phœnicum.—*Opera*, vol. i. p. 448, &c.

id est Cadmonæum, ex illis Cadmonæis, de quibus agit Moses. Gen. xv. 19. Hi porro Cadmonæi cum Hevæis iidem erant. Neque obscura ratio cur Hevæi *Cadmonim*, id est, Orientales dicti sunt, cum Jos. ii. 3. et Jud. iii. 3. legamus eos occupasse montem *Hermonem*, quæ pars erat terrae Chanaan maxime orientalis. Unde est quod pro oriente Hermon, ut pro occasu Thabor. Psal. lxxxix. 13. Cadmonæus igitur idem qui Hermonæus. Atque hinc factum ut Cadmi uxor vocetur Harmonia vel Hermione, nempe a monte Hermon ex quo erant oriundi. Nec jam obscurum cur in serpentes fingantur esse mutati. Hevaei enim erant, et חויא *Hevæus* Syris est serpens."*

If the word Cadmonite be synonimous with the term which in the Syrian language denotes a serpent, we at once obtain a key to that obscure part of his fabulous history, where Cadmus is represented as sowing the teeth of that reptile, which instantly produced a crop of armed men. Bochart farther expounds, that the Phenician words which have been translated serpent's teeth, literally signify brazen spears, *æreæ cuspides*, the weapons with which Cadmus first equipped his soldiers in Greece; and hence, by a very common rhetorical figure, the foreign warriors were described by a reference to their principal arms, just as in these days we might say of an officer, that he led on a thousand lances or a thousand muskets to the charge.†

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* Geog. Sacræ, Pars Posterior, lib. i. c. 19. p. 447.

† "When Cadmus came into Bœotia, and had conquered the inhabitants, it might be recorded of him in the Phenician or Hebrew language, which anciently were the same, that he עשה חיל חמש אנשים נושקים בשני נחש *Nasah chail chamesh anoshim noshekim beshenei nachash.* These words might begin the account, and in these words are the following ambiguities: *Chamesh* signifies warlike, or prepared for war, and a word of the same letters may be translated *five*. *Shenei* may signify *spears*, or it may be rendered *teeth*. *Nachash* is the Hebrew word for a *serpent*, or for *brass*; and these words being thus capable of denoting very different things, a fabulous translator might say, *he*

Those who are desirous to see how far learning and ingenuity can support an hypothesis which has no real foundation in historical fact, may consult the treatise from which I have quoted the above observations. Mean time, I proceed to examine the opinion of Mr Bryant, who maintains that no such person as Cadmus ever existed. "If we consider," says he, "the whole history of this celebrated hero, we shall find that it was impossible for one person to have effected what he is supposed to have performed. His expeditions were various and wonderful, and such as in those early times would not have been attempted, nor could ever have been completed. It may be asked, if there were no such man as Cadmus, what did the ancients allude to under this character? The travels of Cadmus, like the expeditions of Perseus, Sesostris, and Osiris, relate to colonies which at different times went abroad and were distinguished by this title. But what was the work of many, and performed at various seasons, has been attributed to one person. Cadmus was one of the names of Osiris, the chief deity of Egypt. Both Europa and Harmonia are of the like nature. They are titles of the deity; but assumed by colonies who went out and settled under these denominations. Their ideal chieftain, whether Cadmus, or Bacchus, or Hercules, was supposed to have traversed the same ground; and the achievements of different ages were conferred upon the fancied hero of a day. This has been the cause of great inconsistency throughout the mythology of the ancients. To this they added largely, being so lavish of titles, out of reverence to their gods. Wherever they

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raised a force of five men, armed from the teeth of a serpent; when the words ought to have been translated, *he raised a warlike force of men, armed with spears of brass.*"—Shuckford, vol. ii. p. 321.

cause they built temples to them, and cities under various denominations; all which were taken from some supposed attribute. These titles and attributes, though they belonged originally to one god, the sun; yet, being manifold and misapplied, gave rise to a multitude of deities, whose æra never could be settled, nor their history rendered consistent. Cadmus was one of these. He was the same as Hermes of Egypt, called also Thoth, Athoth, and Canathoth; and was supposed to have been the inventor of letters. Harmonia, the wife of Cadmus, who has been esteemed a mere woman, seems to have been an emblem of nature, and the fostering nurse of all things. The deity called by the Greeks Harmonia, was introduced among the Canaanites very early by people from Egypt; and was worshipped in Sidon and the adjacent countries by the name of Baal-Kermon."*

The ingenious analyst next undertakes to prove, that Cadmus was no other person than Ham the son of Noah, who, by his posterity, was looked upon as the sun, and worshipped under his titles,—a circumstance, however, which was common to all who were styled Baalim. He immediately afterwards conjectures that he must have been the same with Academus, who founded the celebrated building and planted the grove where Plato taught his divine philosophy. But he sees it proper to conclude, upon the whole, that the story of Cadmus and Europa related to people from Egypt and Syria, who went abroad at different times and settled in various parts. "Under the character of Europa are to be understood people styled Europians, from their particular mode of worship. Europa was a deity: and the name is a compound, Eur-Ope, analogous

* Analysis of Ancient Mythology, vol. ii. 434—450.

to Canope, Canophis, and Cnuphis of Egypt; and signifies Orus Pytho. It is rendered by the Greeks as a feminine noun, upon the supposition that it was the name of a woman; but it related properly to a country." "It is said of Cadmus, that, at the close of his life, he was, together with his wife Harmonia, changed to a serpent of stone. This wonderful metamorphosis is related to have happened at Encheliæ, a town in Illyria; which circumstance is taken notice of by Lucan:—

> Tunc qui Dardaniam tenet Oricon, et vagus altis
> Dispersus sylvis Athamas, et *nomine prisco*
> Encheliæ, versi testantes funera Cadmi.*

The true history is this. These two personages were here enshrined in a temple or Petra, and worshipped under the symbol of a serpent."

A sober reader cannot but bewail this great waste of learning and acuteness. It is manifest that the hypothesis of which I have now given the outline, and which in various forms occupies the greater part of Mr Bryant's work, has no other support than the practice, very common in all eastern countries, of forming the names of men from certain qualities and epithets attributed to the divine nature. Most of the appellations in the Old Testament are composed on this principle; and, were we to follow the example of Mr Bryant, we might discover, not only in the patriarchs and prophets, but even in the greater number of the kings and warriors whose actions are recorded in its pages, the living image of so many incarnate deities. Nay, he himself admits that the names of Agamemnon and Menelaus were ancient titles of the chief god; and that the former is supposed to have been the same as Zeus,

* Lucan. lib. iii. v. 187.

Æther, and Cœlus. But as the sons of Atreus were distinguished by a divine nomenclature, so might the son of Agenor; and as the Greek princes were men, and actuated by merely human motives, so is it probable that the Phenician chief, notwithstanding the etymology of his name, was never called to discharge higher duties than to lead forth a band of soldiers to seek his sister, who had been stolen away, or to discover a land in which he might provide his followers with bread and a habitation. In regard, again, to the metamorphosis which happened at Encheliæ, it may be confidently resolved into the historical fact mentioned by Herodotus, that the Cadmeans, upon being expelled from Thebes by the victorious Argives, sought refuge among the Enchelians, a people of Illyria.*

Perhaps it may not add much to our confidence in ancient history, to find, upon descending from the elevated ground assumed by Bochart and Bryant, that, according to Dr Shuckford, Cadmus was indeed a man, but that Jupiter at the same time was no god. This author, on the faith of Pausanias, informs us, that once upon a time "Jupiter and his whole family were at Thebes in Bœotia at the wedding of Cadmus. Jupiter then gave Harmonia to Cadmus, to be his wife; for Harmonia was not the daughter of Mars and Venus, as many of the ancient writers suggest, but the daughter of Jupiter, and sister of Dardanus. Cadmus married about eight years after he came to Thebes."† It is but right, however, to add, that Dr Shuckford's notions respecting the nation and family of this Phenician emigrant are upon the whole remarkable for good sense; and afford the most satisfactory evidence

* *Herod.* lib. v. c. 61. Ἐξανίστανται Καδμείοι ὑπ' Ἀργείων, καὶ ἔρχονται ἐς τοὺς Ἐγχελέας.

† Sacred and Profane History Connected, vol. ii. p. 155.

that he had studied the intricate subject of Grecian originals with care, and viewed them, too, through the medium of competent learning.

We have seen that the opinion of ancient writers has been fully established in regard to the mixed character of the Grecian people. Athens, Argos, Thebes, and Sparta derived, if not their founders, at least large bodies of inhabitants from Egypt and Phenicia. The arts and learning, which shed so much lustre upon the Greeks, proceeded from the same source. Without venturing to resume the difficult investigation which respects the origin of the earliest occupants of that interesting country, which is bounded by the Ionian and Egean seas, we may rest satisfied that the rapid progress which they made in knowledge, and by which they soon distinguished themselves from the tribes of the same blood, who continued to dwell in the upper parts of Thrace and towards the Danube, arose entirely from their intercourse with the Phenicians and Egyptians.

As my object in the present chapter has not been to write a history of Greece, but merely to give a summary of the opinions which have been entertained relative to the foundation of its most ancient kingdoms, it cannot be thought necessary that I should enter into details on the subject of her early wars, and the consequent establishment of those minor states which were afterwards spread over the surface of her territory. The following quotation from Usher shadows forth the events which, at so remote a period, would, according to his views of chronology, occupy the attention of the historical reader:—"Cecrops Ægyptius Saïtarum colonia in Atticam traducta, (ut ex Diodori Siculi Bibliothecæ libro primo intelligimus) Atheniensium regnum condidit; ante primam Olympiadem annis 780, ut ex Castore habet, in Chronico suo, Eusebius. Ab ejus

temporibus Græcorum antiquitates deducit Chronographus Parius, a doctissimo Seldeno nostro inter Arundelliana marmora editus: utpote postquam, et parem illi ætate Mosem, *quæ apud Græcos mirabilia narrantur, contigerunt; Deucalionis diluvium, Phaetontis incendium, ortus Erichthonii, Proserpinæ raptus, Cereris mysteria, Eleusinorum institutio, Triptolemi agricultura, Europæ ab Jove raptus, Apollinis nativitas, Cadmi ad Thebanos adventus; atque iis juniores, Bacchus, Minos, Perseus, Æsculapius, Dioscuri, Hercules; quemadmodum in Præparationis Evangelicæ libro decimo, capite nono, ab Eusebio est observatum.**

It has been already remarked, that the period to which part of the narrative of this chapter applies, is removed considerably beyond the epoch at which the subjects discussed in these volumes have their proper commencement. The accession of Ægialeus to the throne of Sicyon, for example, took place about fourscore years before the migration of Abraham into Egypt. Even the kings of Argos began to reign about a hundred and thirty years prior to the exode of the children of Israel; for, if we are right in the computations formerly given on this subject, the departure from Egypt was B. C. 1608, while the first year of Phoroneus, the founder of the Argian monarchy, is usually fixed B. C. 1779. Agreeably to the same principles, the government of Cecrops at Athens synchronizes with the latter years of Joshua, and with the servitude of the Hebrews under Chusan Rishathaim; and the arrival of Cadmus at Thebes falls in with the oppression of the Israelites by the hands of the Moabites.

Dr Shuckford, relying upon the authority of Usher, Marsham, and their followers, has placed the time of

* Usserii Annales, p. 10.

Moses much too low, and made him contemporary with Cecrops and Cadmus. This error has arisen from the peculiar views entertained by the archbishop respecting the length of the interval between the exode and the foundation of Solomon's temple; or more strictly, perhaps, in regard to the administration of the Judges, as separated from the successive oppressions to which the Hebrews were subjected. It is well known that he thought proper to include each servitude in the government of the particular Judge who was raised up by Divine Providence to put an end to it; and in this way he has shortened the distance between Moses and Samuel not less than a hundred and twelve years. As the son of Amram was eighty years of age at the departure of the Hebrews from Egypt, which took place about B. C. 1608, he must have been born B. C. 1688, or one hundred and thirty years before Cecrops began his reign at Athens. The following syllabus of dates will place the synchronism of Hebrew and Grecian history, for the period now under consideration, in a much clearer light than could be effected by an unaided narrative.

HEBREW.

	B. C.	A. M.
Abraham was born	2113	3328
Went into Egypt,	2038	3403
Moses born,	1688	3753
Exode of Hebrews,	1608	3833
Death of Moses,	1568	3873
Death of Joshua,	1543	3898
Death of Othniel,	1493	3948
End of Moabitic servitude,	1471	3970

GREEK.

Sicyonian Kings.

	B. C.	A. M.
Ægialeus reigned,	2171	3270
Europos,	2119	3322
Telchin,	2074	3367
Orthopolis,	1704	3737
Marathus,	1611	3830
Corax,	1536	3905
Epopeus,	1506	3935
Lamedon,	1471	3970

Argian Kings.

	B. C.	A. M.
Phoroneus reigned,	1779	3662
Apis,	1719	3722
Argus,	1684	3757
Criasus,	1614	3827
Phorbas,	1560	3881
Triopas,	1535	3906
Crotopus,	1499	3942
Danaus,	1467	3974

Athenian Kings.

	B. C.	A. M.
Cecrops reigned,	1558	3883
Cranaus,	1508	3933
Amphictyon,	1499	3942
Erichthonius,	1489	3952
Pandion,	1439	4002

It thus appears that Abraham was born when Europus reigned at Sicyon; that Moses was born when Orthopolis was on the same throne, and when Apis occupied that of Argos; that the Jewish exode synchronizes with the government of Marathus, and with that of the Argian Criasus; and, finally, that Moses died ten years exactly before Cecrops placed himself at the head of his Athenians.

I have not thought it necessary to follow the footsteps of those minute chronologers who have undertaken to fix the dates at which Ino, Epaphus, and other subordinate personages, acted their parts on the theatre of Grecian affairs. On these points of archæological investigation, the reader will find much learned labour in the volumes of Pausanias and Apollodorus, and more especially in the critical annotations which accompany the works of Pindar, Euripides, and Apollonius Rhodius. The elucidation of such inquiries belongs exclusively to the professional antiquary. There are, however, certain other historical events connected with the times when the Judges ruled, which ought not to be passed over; more especially as the dates at which they are supposed to have occurred are far from being satisfactorily determined. I allude principally to the celebrated voyage under Jason; the war of Troy; and the return of the descendants of Hercules to claim the inheritance of their fathers.*

* See Jackson's Chronological Antiquities, vol. iii. p. 314. Apollodorus, lib. ii. Plut. de Isid. et Osirid.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE ARGONAUTIC EXPEDITION; THE CAPTURE OF TROY; AND THE RETURN OF THE HERACLIDÆ.

No occurrence in ancient history is more obscurely clouded with fable than the voyage undertaken by Jason to the shores of Colchis in search of the golden fleece. A colony of Egyptians had settled at an early period on the eastern coast of the Euxine sea; where, by means of the ingenuity and enterprise which distinguished that remarkable people, they had spread around them so great an appearance of riches as to attract the cupidity of the piratical tribes who dwelt on the maritime borders of Thessaly. Among other sources of wealth which their industrious habits had suggested, the Colchians, as we are informed by Strabo and Arrian, were wont to spread, in the beds of the rivulets which descended from mount Caucasus, the skins of sheep or of goats covered with the wool; in which, as the muddy water passed over them, particles of gold were deposited and detained.* Perhaps the mines in the neigh-

* Strab. lib. xi. and Arrian. de Bello Mithridat. Herodotus, lib. ii. c. 104.

bourhood were the real incitement which acted upon the followers of Jason; but, at all events, a large ship was built or equipped in the harbour of Iolcos, on board of which a number of daring spirits embarked, who forthwith directed their course towards the envied country, concerning which they had heard so many flattering reports.

The reader of classical antiquities is aware that the exploit of Jason is usually clothed in a much more fabulous attire. Athamas, king of Thebes, had married Ino, the daughter of Cadmus, whom he divorced in order to marry Nephele, by whom he had two children, Phryxus and Helle. The caprice of the monarch soon afterwards replaced Ino in her rank as his wife, and sent away her rival; after which the daughter of Cadmus became the mother of two children, Learches and Melicerta. As the children of Nephele were to succeed to their father in right of primogeniture, Ino conceived an invincible hatred against them; and under the influence of this passion she poisoned the fruits of the earth, and thereby brought a dreadful pestilence upon Thebes. The oracle being consulted, gave directions that the progeny of Nephele should be offered up in sacrifice to the gods. Phryxus was soon apprised of this; who, carrying his sister with him, immediately embarked on board a ship, and fled to the court of Æetes, king of Colchis, one of his near relations. In the voyage Helle died, but her brother arrived at Colchis in safety, where he met with but a very indifferent reception from his royal kinsman. The poets have greatly embellished the flight of Phryxus. They suppose that he and Helle fled through the air on a ram, which had wings and a golden fleece, and was, moreover, endowed with the faculty of speech; the offspring, it is added, of Neptune and the nymph Theophane. Just as they were about to be sacrificed to the jealousy of Ino, the humane animal took

them on his back and instantly disappeared in the air. On their way Helle became giddy, and fell down into that part of the sea which, from her name, has ever since been called the Hellespont. When Phryxus arrived at Colchis, he is said to have sacrificed the ram to Jupiter or to Mars, to whom he also dedicated the golden wool. He soon afterwards married one of the daughters of Æetes; but he was doomed not to enjoy much of matrimonial happiness; for his father-in-law, envying him the possession of the celebrated fleece, put him to death in order to obtain it.

In these circumstances, Jason was called upon to avenge the murder of his relative, and to recover the treasure which had been the cause of it. This son of Æson was heir to the crown of Iolcos, which his uncle Pelias had usurped; and when he came of age he respectfully reminded the reigning sovereign of his claims, and assured him that he was determined to enforce them by all the means in his power. Pelias, who saw it was vain to resist the demands of his nephew, who was equally bold and popular, declared that he would abdicate the throne in his favour, on condition that he should sail to Colchis, punish the treachery of Æetes, and bring back the golden fleece. The prince, who was in the vigour of youth, and of an ambitious spirit, cheerfully undertook the expedition; and gathering around him all the young men of rank who were inclined to join him in such an enterprise, he conducted them on board his famous ship the Argo, and set sail for the kingdom of Colchis.*

After a variety of adventures in the several islands

* Justin. lib. xlii. c. 2. Igitur Jason divulgata opinione tam gloriosæ expeditionis, cum ad eum certatim principes juventutis totius ferme orbis concurrerent, exercitum fortissimorum virorum, qui Argonautæ cognominati sunt, comparavit.—See also *Diod. Sicul.* lib. iv. c. 41. *Pindar. Pyth.* 4.

where they landed, and, after the lapse of several years spent in the voyage, the Argonauts at length reached the capital of Æetes. Jason explained the object of his mission, and urged the restoration of the golden fleece; but the conditions prescribed by the king as the only terms upon which it could be obtained were so extremely hard, that had not his daughter, the celebrated Medea, assisted them by her incantations, the chiefs of Iolcos must have returned to their native land loaded with disappointment. She had a conference with Jason in the temple of Hecaté; and, after mutual oaths of fidelity, she pledged herself to enable the Argonauts to perform all the conditions demanded by her father, if their commander would marry her and carry her with him into Greece. He readily acceded to her proposal; upon which he undertook to tame a couple of bulls which breathed flames, whose feet and horns were of brass, and to plough with them a field sacred to the god of war. After this he was to sow the ground with the teeth of a serpent, from whence armed men were to spring, who would instantly turn their rage against the person who had ploughed the field. He was also to kill a monstrous dragon which watched day and night at the foot of the tree on which the golden fleece was suspended. He complied with all the conditions. As soon as the army sprang out of the earth, they rushed towards Jason to chastise his temerity: but he had no sooner thrown a stone amongst them, than they fell upon one another with the utmost fury, and fought until there was not one left alive. The vigilance of the dragon, too, was lulled asleep by the power of drugs; and Jason recovered from the haunted tree the memorable golden fleece, the main object of his perilous enterprise.

Though we cannot believe the improbable and miraculous circumstances which have just been related, and

though we are at the same time aware of the mixture of eastern tradition with early Grecian history, and of the confusion which has resulted from an imperfect chronology, and the blending together of facts which belong to different countries and ages, it would yet betray a spirit of unreasonable scepticism, were we to reject entirely the Argonautic expedition, supported as it is by the authority of the most credible writers.* But this romantic voyage, however closely connected with the poetry and drama of Greece, would not have been mentioned here, were it not that Sir Isaac Newton has founded upon the coincidence between the name of the ship Argo, and that of a constellation in the southern hemisphere, an important inference, as applicable to the science of time.

It was the opinion of this great man, that chronologers have placed the dates in all ancient history about three hundred years too high; and he attempts to prove his position from the fact that Chiron, one of the Argonauts, formed a scheme or plan of the constellations for the use of his fellow voyagers, in which the equinoctial colures are so placed as to indicate that the expedition must have been accomplished about nine hundred and thirty-six years before the Christian era. "Chiron," says he, "formed the constellations for the use of the Argonauts, and placed the solstitial and equinoctial points in the fifteenth degrees, or middle of the constellations of Cancer, Chelæ, Capricorn, and Aries. Meton, in the year of Nabonassar three hundred and sixteen, observed the summer solstice in the eighth degree of Cancer, and, therefore, the solstice had then gone back seven degrees. It goes back one degree in about seventy-two years; and seven

* Herodot. lib. ii. c. 104. Strabo, lib. xi. Diod. Sic. lib. iv. c. 41. Mitford, vol. i. p. 45.

degrees, consequently, in about five hundred and four years. Count these years back from the three hundred and sixteenth year of Nabonassar, and it will be found that the Argonautic expedition must be placed nine hundred and thirty-six years before Christ."*

Astonishing as were the talents and acquirements of Newton as a mathematician, it is yet true that, in chronology, history, and theology, his views were not more enlightened, nor were his conclusions more sound, than those of much inferior writers. It is not even paradoxical to assert, that his failure in the first of these departments arose, in a great measure, from an undue attachment to the principles and mode of reasoning upon which his analytical researches were so successfully conducted. It would not have occurred to a less scientific inquirer that it was possible to ascertain the date of an ancient event, by applying to a few ambiguous facts connected with it, the demonstrative logic of physical astronomy; although it must be acknowledged that had his data been as unquestionable as his method of deduction, our assent to the result would have been compelled by the most irresistible authority that can address itself to the human intellect.†

* Short Chronicle, and Chronology of the Greeks, in the works of Sir Isaac Newton. The edition before me is that of Castillioneus in Latin, where the Brevia Chronica will be found, vol. iii. p. 9—31.

† As nothing connected with the great Newton can be uninteresting, the reader may be pleased with the following notice respecting his chronological labours. It was taken from his own mouth about five months before his death by his friend Dr Pearce, late bishop of Rochester. "He said that he had spent thirty years, at intervals, in reading over all the authors, or parts of authors, which could furnish any materials for forming a just account of the subject: that he had, in his reading, made collections from these authors, and had, at the end of thirty years, composed from thence his 'Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms;' and that he had written it over several times (*sixteen* times, as the bishop afterwards collected from his discourse), making few alterations therein, but what were for the sake of shortening it, leaving out in every later copy some of the authorities and references on which he had

But it is maintained against the conclusiveness of his argument, first, that his assumption of the positions of the cardinal points of the ecliptic in the middles of the constellations of Aries, Cancer, Chelæ, and Capricorn, at the time of the Argonautic expedition, is altogether gratuitous: nay, that it can be proved to be false from the correcter date of the voyage, and the true rate of precession, which is one degree in seventy-one years and a half. It is urged, in the second place, that the primitive celestial sphere was certainly not invented either by Chiron or Musæus for the use of the Argonauts in their famous voyage; it having been constructed long before their time by the Chaldean astronomers, from whom it was adopted by the Indians, and subsequently by the Egyptians and Greeks. "Nor," says Dr Hales, "did its asterisms, as Newton supposes, relate to the circumstances of the Argonauts, their contemporaries or predecessors, but probably to the earliest circumstances of patriarchal history; Argo, to Noah's ark; Chiron, to Noah himself, with his altar and sacrifice, after the Flood; Orion and his dogs, to Nimrod, that *mighty* hunter; the Great and Little Bear, the Hare, &c. to his game, &c. And, to crown all, Canopus, the principal star in the constellation Argo, is only 37 degrees from the south pole, and the greatest part of the constellation lies

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grounded his opinion." A few days before his death, bishop Pearce visited and dined with him at Kensington. "I found him," says he, "writing over his 'Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms,' without the help of spectacles, at the greatest distance in the room from the windows, and with a parcel of books on the table casting a shade upon the paper. Seeing this, on my entering the room, I said, *Sir, you seem to be writing in a place where you cannot well see.* His answer was, *Little light serves me.* He then told me that he was preparing his Chronology for the press, and that he had written the greatest part of it for that purpose.—The work was published the year after his death, in 1728, by his nephew, Mr Conduitt, who supplied the authorities found in it at present.—*Bishop Pearce's Life, prefixed to his Commentary on the Gospels.*

still nearer to it: the course of their voyage lay between 39 and 45 degrees of north latitude; consequently, if the sphere had been either constructed by or for the Argonauts, the framer would not have given the name of the ship Argo to a constellation invisible at Pegasæ, whence they set out, and at Colchis, whither they came. The southerly position of this constellation seems rather to indicate the approach of the waters of the deluge from that quarter of the globe, where the fountains of the great deep were broken up; probably in the vicinity of the south pole; if we may judge from the resting of the ark upon mount Ararat, in Armenia, northwards, from the more abrupt and violent disruptions of the coasts of the old and new continents southwards than northwards; and from the copious fossil remains of southern animals and vegetables found very far to the northward at the present day."*

It belongs not to our inquiry to examine into the soundness of the views stated by Dr Hales in regard to the name of the ship, or to that of the constellation which is supposed to have been derived from it. But it admits not of any doubt, that his strictures upon the celestial sphere are well founded; for nothing is more certain, than that astronomy, in the days of Jason, had not made such progress as to determine the position of the solstitial and equinoctial colures with such exactness as to supply to the chronologer the basis of an unerring calculation. Of Chiron it has been asserted, that he did not know there were more than three hundred and sixty days in the year; and Thales, who lived six centuries after him, was not aware of this important fact until he had travelled into Egypt and con-

* New Analysis of Chronology, vol. i. p. 34.

versed with the priests. Unquestionably, if the Argonautic astronomer could not attain to the knowledge of the period occupied by the sun in his annual progress through the ecliptic, he can possess no claims to our confidence, when he undertakes to fix the precise position of that luminary in the four signs which mark his quadratures.

There is no fact in astronomical science, connected with the measurement of time, which requires the application of a more delicate analysis than the precession of the equinoxes: the utmost accuracy of observation, joined to a complete knowledge of principle, is quite indispensable to a satisfactory conclusion. How slight, then, must be our reliance upon the conjectures of those ancients who were ignorant of the true length of the year, and consequently of the sun's place in the heavens when he had attained his highest declination! Eudoxus, who did not flourish until three hundred years after Thales, and nine hundred years after Chiron, was the first Grecian astronomer who knew that an entire revolution of the earth is not effected in less than three hundred and sixty-five days and nearly six hours. Sir Isaac Newton himself acknowledges, not only that the observations of the Greeks were far from being accurate, but also that they were very carelessly recorded; for which reasons it is too manifest to require a single remark, that, from all the data furnished by the science of Greece, no certain conclusions can be drawn in regard to the position of the colures at any given period, prior to the times of Hipparchus and Ptolemy.

Dr Jackson, with considerable ingenuity, has attempted to fix the era of the Argonautic expedition from the age of Hercules, who is admitted, by several ancient writers, to have sailed from Iolcos under the command of Jason. It is reported, indeed, that, for some reason or other, he was left behind in the bay of Magnesia, where he engaged in

the service of queen Omphale, who at that time governed the kingdom of Lydia.* Herodotus, Apollodorus, Tzetzes, and Diodorus agree as to the circumstance that Hercules remained in the dominions of Omphale, and that he was, during some part of their voyage, a companion of the Argonauts. Diodorus thinks that he actually proceeded to Colchis, and assisted Jason in his labours for the recovery of the fleece; and that it was on his return from the country now named that he went to Troy, to demand certain mares which Laomedon had promised him for rescuing his daughter Hesione, when she was attacked by a sea-monster. The king of the Trojans refused to fulfil his promise; upon which Hercules, with Telamon and a body of Argonauts, besieged his city and took it; deposed him from the throne; and elevated to his place the unfortunate Priam, his son, who had gained the esteem of the victors.†

From the preceding history of Hercules we may nearly fix the date of the Argonautic expedition; for it must be placed either while he served Omphale, or the year that he slew Laomedon king of Troy. As the latter account seems most probable, it determines the period of Jason's exploit to the year before Christianity 1224 or 1225; for it is agreed that Priam reigned forty years, and was killed at the taking of Troy, and hence, as the latter event took place B. C. 1183, he must have been raised to the throne not later than the former of the two years just specified.

The date of the expedition may be ascertained within a few years by a reference to the important fact, mentioned as well by Herodotus as by Diodorus Siculus and

* Herod. lib. vii. c. 193. Apollod. lib. ii. Tzetzes, Chiliad. ii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. iv. c. 41.

† Navigavit Hercules cum Argonautis, expugnavitque Trojam, iratus Laomedonti ob negatam sibi pro filiæ salute mercedem, unde, quo tempore fuerit, apparet.—*Lactant. de falsa Religione*, lib. i. c. 9.

Tatian, that it took place one generation before the Trojan war, in which some of the Argonauts themselves and many of their sons were actually employed. Philoctetes, for example, was one of the crew of the Argo, and he was also with Ulysses at the siege of Troy, and even lived many years after that city was reduced. Euryalus was likewise a companion of Jason, and yet, in conjunction with Diomedes, he commanded the Argives under the Trojan walls. Teucer and Ajax, again, were sons of Telamon, whose name stands high among the Argonauts. He even survived the destruction of Troy several years; for, some time after that event, we find him banishing the elder of the two warriors just named, who went to Cyprus, and built the famous city of Salamis.*

It is, therefore, very probable that the computation adopted by Jackson is correct, and that the Grecian invasion of Colchis was not earlier than about the year 1225 before the introduction of the Christian faith. Trasillus, whose authority is quoted by Clement of Alexandria, places the enterprise now mentioned not less than seventy-nine years before the sacking of Troy, that is, B. C. 1263; and in this estimate he has been followed by Petavius, Blair, Mitford, and several other modern writers. Eusebius held a similar opinion in regard to the antiquity of the Argonautic expedition; but the learned Scaliger has shown at considerable length the absurdity of placing it so high, and proves that it could not have occurred prior to the reign of Theseus, or little more than twenty years before the termination of the Trojan war.†

The effects produced by this military enterprise were,

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* Diod. Sicul. lib. i. c. 24. Tatian apud Euseb. Præparat. Evangel. lib. x. c. 11. Diod. Sicul. lib. iv. c. 41.

† Jackson, vol. iii. p. 325. Scalig. Animad. in Euseb. Chron. p. 46.

it has been imagined, very favourable to the improvement of manners and of arts among the barbarous Greeks. Like the crusaders in the earlier part of European history, the soldiers of Jason were led into a country where the various pursuits which adorn and enrich social life had already made considerable progress; and the latter as well as the former, though they went to recover an imaginary treasure from a race of people whom they hated or despised, are supposed to have returned to their native land with such an increased degree of knowledge, both of themselves and of others, as necessarily opened up a path to the refinements of taste and of general civilization. From the era of this celebrated expedition, says one of the historians of Greece, we may discover not only a more daring and enlarged spirit of enterprise, but a more decisive and rapid progress towards learning and humanity. The sullen and unsociable chiefs, whose acquaintance with each other most commonly arose from acts of mutual hostility, had hitherto given full scope to the sanguinary passions which characterize barbarians. Strength and courage were almost the only qualities which they admired; they fought and plundered at the head of their respective tribes, while the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts were regarded as fit objects only to excite their rage and gratify their cupidity. But these gloomy warriors, having exerted their joint valour in a remote expedition, learned the necessity of acquiring more amiable virtues, as well as of adopting more liberal notions of the public interest. Military courage and address might alone procure them the respect of their immediate followers, since the safety of the little community often depended on the warlike abilities of the chieftain; but when several tribes had combined in a common enterprise, there was less dependence on the prowess of any single leader.

Emulation and interest necessarily rendered all these chiefs as jealous of one another as desirous of the public esteem; and, in order to secure this esteem, it was necessary to add to the reputation of military talent the more important endowments of justice and clemency.*

In support of these remarks it may be added, that the institution or renewal of the Olympic games is supposed to have originated in the desire of improvement with which the Greeks were inspired during their expedition to Colchis. Diodorus Siculus relates, that the Argonauts being about to separate after their return, Hercules persuaded the chiefs to take an oath of mutual defence, and to bind themselves to afford aid to one another, should an emergency arise to render such assistance necessary. For this purpose he recommended that some part of Greece should be fixed upon for a public convention to be held from time to time; and that games or athletic exercises should be established, as well to improve the personal qualities of their young men, as to create an occasion for assembling the Grecian tribes together, as a national body acknowledging a common bond of union. When the heroes had solemnly pledged their faith for reciprocal support, they intrusted to Hercules the arrangement of the gymnastic festival, the time and the place; who, pitching upon the plains of Elis, bordering on the river Alpheus, consecrated them to the patriotic object which he had in view, by instituting the games in the name of Jupiter Olympius, the greatest of the gods.

I have quoted the above passage from Diodorus Siculus, not because it contains a correct view of the original institution of the Olympic games, a subject on which an-

* Gillies, vol. i. p. 22. Hesiod. Opera et Dies, lib i. v. 142—165.

cient writers differ very widely, but chiefly because it coincides with the notions of Hesiod and other archæologists, who believed that, in the Argonautic expedition, they could discover the seeds of that improved taste, and of those refined habits, which soon afterwards began to extend among the Grecian states.*

The incantations of Medea were, perhaps, nothing more than that command over the qualities of matter which is conferred by the knowledge of its laws and properties; and, notwithstanding the minute narrative which has been given of her exploits and atrocities, there is a fair ground for conjecture that she was only an imaginary character; and that her name represented only that mighty addition to the power of man, to do good or to do evil, which is derived from the lights of natural science.

In the account which Herodotus gives of the voyage to Colchis, he alludes to the exercise of a certain protecting power by the Persians, which, taken in connection with other circumstances, may be regarded as an indirect proof of the existence, at that period, of a paramount empire in Western Asia. After stating that Io had been carried away from Argos by the crew of a Phenician ship, he relates that the Greeks fitted out an armament, sailed to Æa, a city of Colchis, near the river Phasis, and forcibly brought away Medea, the daughter of the king. The father despatched a herald to demand satisfaction for the affront, as well as the restitution of the princess; but the only answer which they obtained from the Grecian states was, that they would make no reparation in the present

* Μελλοντων δε των Αργοναυτων εις τας πατριδας διιχωριζεσθαι, φασι τον Ηρακλεα συμβουλευσαι τοις αριστευσι, προς τα παραδοξα της τυχης, αλληλοις ορκους δουναι συμμαχησειν, ειν τις βοηθειας προσδεηθη. ικλεξασθαι δε και της Ελλαδος τον επιφανεστατον τοπον εις αγωνων θεσιν και πανηγυριν κοινην, και καθιερωσαι τον αγωνα τω μεγιστω των θεων Δι Ολυμπιω.—*Diod. Sicul.* lib. iv. c. 53.

instance, as the violence formerly offered to Io remained still unexpiated.

It is impossible to understand in what manner this reply bears upon the point at issue, until we are reminded by the historian that the Persians regarded Asia, with all its various and barbarous inhabitants, as their own peculiar possession; considering Europe and Greece as totally distinct and unconnected. According to this view of their political constitution, as Larcher observes, all the nations of Asia composed but one body, of which the Persians were the head. Any injury, therefore, offered to one of the members was considered as an act of hostility against the whole: and on this account, adds Herodotus, they considered the Greeks as the public enemies of their country ever after the destruction of Troy.* These facts, I repeat, tend in a great degree to confirm the testimony supplied by other writers for the existence of a powerful monarchy on the banks of the Tigris before the period of the Argonautic expedition; and afford, at the same time, much countenance to the assertion which is to be found in the works of several ancient authors, that troops were sent by the Assyrian king to assist his vassal Priam against the combined forces of Greece.

Having, agreeably to the chronology of Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Jackson, and Hales, placed the invasion of Colchis in the year B. C. 1225, I need hardly add, that it is here considered as a real event, and not merely as the fiction of mythological poetry. It must, however, be acknowledged, that there is not the slightest ground for believing, with Newton and his followers, that there was

* Απο τουτου ἀιει ἡγησασθαι το Ἑλληνικον σφισιν εἰναι πολεμιον· την γαρ Ασιην και τα ἐνοικεοντα ἐθνεα βαρβαρα οἰκειευνται οἱ Περσαι, την δε Ευροπην και το Ἑλληνικον ἡγηται κεχωρισθαι.—*Herod.* lib. i. c. 4.

any historical connection between the Argo, Jason's largest ship, and the constellation which is known to astronomers by the same name. The occurrence, whatever it might be, which was so unskilfully engrafted by the Greeks upon a merely technical distribution of the stars, was unquestionably of Egyptian origin; for in this case, as in many others, the lively imagination of Homer's countrymen, who were not ashamed to use a borrowed literature and religion until they forgot that they were not original, covered with the veil of foreign allegory the most remarkable events which belonged to the early history of their tribes. I have already alluded to the opinion of Dr Hales, who thinks that the primitive celestial sphere was invented by the Chaldean astronomers, from whom it was adopted by the Indians, and afterwards by the Egyptians and Greeks. But Mr Bryant regards it as perfectly plain, that the history of the Argo related, in the first instance, to an event which the Egyptians commemorated with great reverence. "The delineation in the sphere," says he, "was intended as a lasting memorial of a wonderful deliverance: on which account one of the brightest stars of the southern hemisphere is represented upon the rudder of the ship. This star, by the Egyptians, was called Canobus, which was one of the titles of their chief deity, who was, under this denomination, looked upon as the particular god of mariners. In a word, the ship commemorated in the constellation now named was," he concludes, "no other than the Ark, denominated Argus by the Greeks, and sometimes Arcas, and not unfrequently spoken of as τα πλοια ὁ ἀρχηθεν ἐτεχνευθη."*

This subject is treated, in the great work of Bryant,

* Hales, vol. i. p. 34. Bryant, vol. iii. p. 385.

with a degree of industry and learning which go far to atone for the unceasing paradox that runs through all his speculations on the mythology of the ancients; and which most unquestionably establish the truth of his main position, in regard to the Egyptian origin of the fable which the Greeks combined with the achievement of Jason. But it is the chronology of the event with which we are more immediately concerned; and, in this view, it is worthy of remark, that the conclusions which have just been formed, in respect to the date of the Argonautic confederacy, are completely confirmed by the facts brought forward in ancient history relative to the capture of Troy.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in reference to the foundation of Rome, observes, that Porcius Cato determined the date to be 432 years after the taking of Troy; and this epoch, according to the chronological canons of Eratosthenes, coincides with the first year of the seventh Olympiad, that is, the year 752 before the Christian era. By this computation, Cato placed the destruction of Troy in the year B. C. 1184.*

Dionysius of Argos fixed the reduction of the Phrygian capital for the eighteenth year of the reign of Agamemnon, and the first year of the reign of Demophoon, son of Theseus, and the twelfth day of the month Thargelion. This was in the year B. C. 1183. Agis and Dercylus wrote in the third book of their history that Troy was taken on the twenty-third day of Panemus, which month

* Porcius Cato Græcam temporum rationem non indicat: alioquin cum esset perdiligens antiquæ historiæ collector, dicit quadringentis triginta duobus annis posteriorem bello Iliaco: quod tempus dimensum juxta Eratosthenis chronographias, incidit in annum primum Olympiadis septimæ.—*Antiq. Roman.* lib. i. c. 75. *Ex interpret. Gelen. et Silberg.*

corresponds to the Attic month Thargelion. Hellanicus says it was taken on the twelfth of Thargelion. Other historians mention the twenty-third of Thargelion, and the last year of Menestheus, at the full moon, which was the year 1183 before the advent of Christ.*

Apollodorus reckoned eighty years from the taking of Troy to the return of the Heraclidæ, and from the latter of these events to the first Olympiad 328 years; so that he placed the former in the year B. C. 1184. Diodorus Siculus follows the same computation, and counts 779 years from the sacking of Priam's city to the fourth year of the ninety-third Olympiad, or the year B. C. 405; whence it is manifest that he also must have arrived at a similar result.†

Solinus remarks, that, by comparing the chronology of the Greeks and Romans together, it appeared to him that Rome was built in the first year of the seventh Olympiad, or in the 433d year after the reduction of Troy; whence we find that he determined the foundation of the Italian capital for the year B. C. 752, and the downfal of that of Phrygia for B. C. 1184. The same author adds, that the Olympic games were restored by Iphitus 408 years after the taking of Troy, and thereby furnishes us with data whence we derive a confirmation of the opinion already expressed, which fixes the capture of that city 1184 years before the era of Christ.‡

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* Κατα δε το δεκατωκαιεικατον ετος της Αγαμεμνονος βασιλειας Ιλιον ἑαλω, Δημοφωντος του Θησεως βασιλευοντος Αθηνησι, τῳ πρωτῳ ἑτει, Θαργηλιωνος μηνος δευτερα ἱσταμενα, ὡς φησι Διονυσιος ὁ Αργειος.—*Euseb. Præp. Evan.* lib. x. c. 12.

† Ἀπο δε των Τροϊκων, ἀπολουθως Απολλοδωρῳ τῳ Αθηναιῳ τιθεμεν ὀγδοηκοντα ἑτη προς τὴν καθοδον των Ἡρακλειδων. ἀπο δε ταυτης ἑπι την πρωτην Ὀλυμπιαδα δυο λειποντα τῶν τριακοσιων και τριακοντα.—*Diodor. Sicul.* lib. i. c. 5.

‡ Collatis igitur nostris et Græcorum temporibus, invenimus incipiente olympiade septima Romam conditam, anno post Ilium captum quadringentesimo tricesimo tertio.—*Polyhist.* c. i. *quoted by Jackson.*

Eratosthenes, the famous Egyptian chronologer and mathematician, calculated 407 years from the taking of Troy to the first Olympiad; from the fall of Troy to the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus he reckoned fourscore years; thence to the foundation of Ionia sixty years; from which event to the time of Lycurgus, 159 years; and from his days to the first Olympiad, 108 years; in all 407 years. Eratosthenes, therefore, placed the destruction of Troy in the year B. C. 1183, or one year later than the epoch which resulted from the computation of Apollodorus.*

Eusebius in his Chronicon relates that the destruction of Troy happened 406 years before the first Olympiad; that is, in the year B. C. 1182. But he admits at the same time, that the Greek historians added two years more, which would bring the amount to 1184. It is somewhat remarkable, after this explanation, that Scaliger, in his edition of the Canon Chronicus, should have dated the Trojan captivity in the year 1180 before the birth of Christ.†

We may, therefore, with the utmost confidence, fix the era of the destruction of Troy to the year B. C. 1183, according to Eratosthenes; or, according to Apollodorus, to the year B. C. 1184; for, as that city was taken by the Greeks about midsummer, or at the end of the Attic year, it makes very little difference whether we adopt the computation of the one chronographer or of the other.‡ The

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* See Clem. Alex. Strom i. et Censor. De Die Natali, c. 21.

† "A captivitate Troiæ usque ad primam Olympiadem fiunt anni numero quadringenti sex."—*Euseb. Chron.* p. 93.

‡ Chronological Antiquities, vol. iii. p. 332. Tatian. contr. Græcos. Petavius. Doct. Temp. lib. ix. c. 29. Clem. Alexand. apud Euseb. lib. x. c. 12.

principal dates recorded by the Alexandrian mathematician are as follows:—

	Years.	B. C.
Destruction of Troy,	80	1183
Return of the Heraclidæ,	60	1103
Ionic migration,	159	1063
Legislation of Lycurgus,	108	884
Era of Olympiads,*	407	776

Tatian, proceeding on different data, and pursuing a separate method of computation, arrives at a result precisely similar:—

	Years.	B. C.
Destruction of Troy,	10	1183
Æneas founds Lavinium,	8	1173
Ascanius reigns,	61	1165
Return of the Heraclidæ,	328	1104
Era of the Olympiads,	407	776*

Upon inspecting the Parian Chronicle, it will be found that the downfal of Troy is dated about twenty-five years too high. "Since Troy was taken, DCCCCXLV years; Menestheus governing at Athens, in the twenty-second year of his reign, on the twenty-fourth day of the

* Analysis of Ancient Chronology, vol. iii. p. 82. The above curious and valuable coincidence of Greek and Latin Chronology, establishing both, is furnished by Petavius, vol. ii. p. 36, from some ancient Greek writer, whose name, as Dr Hales remarks, he unfortunately omits.

month Thargelion." Now if to 945 we add 264, the year before Christ at which the inscription on the Marble ceases, the sum of the two numbers will be 1209; differing, as I have already stated, not less than twenty-five years from the computation of Eratosthenes, Diodorus Siculus, and Tatian. But this objection is anticipated at the three hundred and seventy-sixth page of the present volume, where it is remarked, that the Parian Chronicle is constructed on two different and independent principles; the one analytic, reckoning upwards from B. C. 264, the fixed date or radix; the other synthetic, reckoning downwards from the time of Cecrops, through the successive kings and archons. It is farther observed, that there is a difference of about twenty-five years between the two methods of computation; and that this difference is not accidental but designed, running uniformly through all the dates of the *heroic* period down to the destruction of Troy; whereas, in the second or *historic* period, the two methods agree to the end. If then, we correct the Parian record according to the principle now explained, we shall find that the era of the Trojan war coincides exactly with the computation of the ancient historians, and obtain thence the greatest degree of evidence that can be acquired in such a case, for the accuracy of the conclusion to which we have arrived. Hereafter we shall examine the objections and reasoning of Sir Isaac Newton on this head; mean time, as his system likewise invalidates the common opinion in regard to the return of the Heraclidæ, it will be more convenient to establish on a firm basis the chronology of that important event, upon which depend the proper order and connection of no small part of the history of Greece.

It has been already observed, that Hercules and Eurystheus king of Argos were descended from the same li-

neage, and equally recognized as ancestors the celebrated princes Perseus and Pelops. The Argian monarch was actuated throughout his whole life by a strong feeling of jealousy and dislike towards his relation, who, on that account, perhaps, saw it expedient to leave his country, and employ his courage and zeal in those adventures which have immortalized his name. But the hatred of Eurystheus did not terminate with the life of Hercules: it was after his death directed against his children, who, therefore, found themselves compelled to seek a refuge at Athens, where they met with a generous reception. An army of Argives, with the king at their head, entered the Attican territory, to chastise the unseasonable hospitality which interfered with their political views. A battle ensued, in which Eurystheus was slain; upon which the sovereignty of Argos passed into the hands of Atreus, the father of the celebrated brothers who led the confederated Greeks against Priam, and finally extirpated in the flames of Troy his power and his family.*

The Heraclidæ, or descendants of Hercules, that they might enjoy a still more perfect protection, were subsequently invited to repair to Doris, where Æpalius, the chief of that district, in return for some kindnesses which he had received at the hands of their father, is said to have adopted Hyllus, the eldest of the sons, and secured to him, as his successor, the undisputed occupation of the provincial throne. Raised thus to the possession of power, the children of Hercules, in the second or third generation, aspired to the kingly inheritance of the Peloponnesus, of which they esteemed themselves unjustly deprived by the malice and intrigues of the rival branch of their

* Herod. lib. ix. c. 27. Thucyd. lib. i. c. 9. Strabo, lib. xiii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. iv.

family. They twice invaded the peninsula without success. Driven back across the isthmus with considerable loss, they courted the alliance or excited the compassion of Oxylus, an Etolian prince; who, joining his forces with theirs, enabled them at length to make a deep impression upon the ancient dominions of Perseus, and, about the year B. C. 1103, to subdue the whole, except a mountainous district in Arcadia, and the small state of Ægidlia.

But this conquest was not altogether effected by force of arms. The Heraclidæ had prepared a numerous fleet at Naupactus, near the northern extremity of the Corinthian gulf; and, before they sailed, they contrived, by secret intrigues, to gain a party at Lacedemon, who consented to co-operate with them in their meditated descent upon a remote point of their kingdom. In the mean time they detached a body of light-armed troops, whose appearance at the isthmus induced the enemy to draw their forces towards that quarter. No attack being apprehended in the south, the united Dorians and Ætolians landed without opposition on the Spartan territory, where their schemes of conquest were soon realized to the fullest extent. Elis, Corinth, Messenia, and even Argos itself, after a resistance more or less effectual according to the circumstances in which they were assailed, submitted one after another to their arms.

"Before this important revolution, Argos and Lacedemon were subject to Tisamenus, grandson of Agamemnon: Messenia was governed by Melanthus, a descendant of the venerated Nestor. These princes had not so far degenerated from the glory of their ancestors as to submit to become subjects in the countries where they had long reigned. On the false first alarm of invasion, occasioned by the appearance of light troops at the isthmus, Tisa-

menus and Melanthus had taken the field with the flower of the Argive and Messenian nations. But while they prepared to repel the expected inroads from the north, they received the melancholy intelligence that their kingdoms had been attacked on another side, on which they thought them secure. Instead of turning southward to dispossess the Heraclidæ, an enterprise too daring to afford any prospect of successs, Tisamenus turned his arms against the Ionians, who inhabited the southern shore of the Corinthian gulf. An obstinate battle was fought, which proved fatal to Tisamenus; but his followers obtained a decisive victory, and, having expelled or enslaved the ancient inhabitants, took possession of that valuable province, so famous in later times under the name of Achaia."* The Messenians migrated to Attica; where, as they assisted the natives in a war in which they were then engaged with the Bœotians, their leader, Melanthus, was elevated to the rank of king.

Of the Heraclide family there were three chiefs in the field, Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus; among whom, and their Ætolian ally, the whole of Peloponnesus, with the exceptions already mentioned, was forthwith divided. Argos fell to the first, Messenia to the second; and as Aristodemus died before the distribution of the conquered country was completed, Lacedemon was given to his twin sons, who were made joint sovereigns of that renowned kingdom. Aletes, also a descendant of Hercules, was rewarded with the government of Corinth; while the valuable services of Oxylus received some remuneration in the rich province of Eleia. But the numerous followers of these warlike princes were not to be

* Gillies' Greece, vol. i. p. 98.

satisfied without a similar gratification; for, after having so successfully overrun the fertile and extensive plains of the Peloponnesus, they could not be expected to return to their wonted poverty upon the barren mountains of Œta and Parnassus. It soon became manifest, however, that the new settlers could not be accommodated except at the expense of the old inhabitants; of whom many were compelled to remove, and a greater number was reduced to the condition of slaves, until, at last, the Heraclidæ and their dependants became the undisputed lords of the soil throughout nearly the whole of southern Greece. The emigrants finally crossed the Egean in search of a new country, and established themselves along the shores of Asia Minor, from the Propontis as far southwards as the river Hermus. The Eolians, expelled from the Peloponnesus, were the first to set this example, which at a future period was followed by the Ionian tribes, and at a still later epoch by the Dorians themselves; and, in this way, the islands and continent of Asia were furnished with European colonists, who carried with them the distinctive names, manners, and language, which belonged to them in their native land.*

The return of the Heraclidæ, as I have already observed, is usually determined for the year B. C. 1103, or eighty years after the destruction of Troy. But Sir Isaac Newton maintains that it did not take place so soon by 278 years; that is, till the year before Christ 825. His argument is, in substance, as follows:—

It has been mentioned in a former paragraph that Aristodemus left two sons, upon whom was conferred the

* Herodotus, lib. vi. c. 52. Strabo, lib. ix. Thucyd. lib. i. c. 12. Pausan. lib. ii. c. 13.

government of Sparta. These princes, whose names were Eurysthenes and Procles, established two royal houses, in each of which there ensued a collateral succession of seventeen kings, down to Leonidas, the last of the former branch, who fell in the battle of Thermopylæ, in the year B. C. 480. From the return of the descendants of Hercules to the beginning of the first Messenian war, says Sir Isaac, "there reigned at Sparta ten kings in the one family and nine in the other; and if to each king we ascribe, according to the course of nature, an administration of twenty years, the interval between these two events will be about one hundred and ninety." From this epoch to the battle of Thermopylæ there were seven kings in the one family and eight in the other; and, proceeding on the same principle, the intervening period may be computed at a hundred and fifty years, or 340 in all, from the accession of the sons of Aristodemus to the fall of Leonidas."*

"Heraclidæ, post tres generationes, aut centum annos

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* The beginning of the Messenian war, as calculated by the Greeks, is fixed by Pausanias to the second year of the ninth Olympiad, or B. C. 742; from which year, according to the Olympic computation, it was 263 to the expedition of Xerxes, which happened in the first year of the 75th Olympiad, or in the year B. C. 480. The kings who reigned at Sparta, during that interval, were as follows:—

The dynasty of Eurysthenidæ.	*The dynasty of Proclidæ.*
1. Polydorus.	1. Zeuxidamus.
2. Eurycrates.	2. Anaxidamus.
3. Anaxander.	3. Archidamus.
4. Eurycrates II.	4. Agasicles.
5. Leon.	5. Aristo.
6. Anaxandrides.	6. Demaratus.
7. Cleomenes.	7. Leotychides.
8. Leonidas.	

Pausan. Lacon. p. 209—220.

a prima eorum expeditione, regrediuntur in Peloponnesum. Ab hoc reditu ad finem primi belli Messenici, Spartæ regnaverunt decem reges ex una familia, et novem ex altera; Messeniæ pariter decem, et novem in Arcadia; unde, si cuique regno tribuas (juxta naturæ cursum) viginti annos, circiter, conficientur fere anni centum nonaginta. Præterea Spartæ, ex eo tempore ad prœlium Thermopylarum, regnaverunt septem reges ex una familia, et octo ex altera: unde consequimur centum quinquaginta annos, præter-propter; et hi superioribus additi reditum Heraclidarum referunt ad annum octogentesimum vicesimum ante Christum circiter."*

To such reasoning, says Musgrave, there is one general answer; "that the reigns of kings not depending upon the common chance of mortality, or upon any simple and constant natural causes, but upon a variety of natural and political causes operating in conjunction; such as their own folly or wisdom, the caprice of the multitude, the treachery of their own subjects, and the invasion of foreign powers: all these causes, I say, render the length of reigns so uncertain and variable, that though we may form an average of them as we do of any thing else, we cannot reason firmly and solidly upon that average."†

A succession of generations, though necessarily attended with some uncertainty, affords a much better ground for calculation than the reigns of kings. In the case now before us, the learned Pausanias has not only given us a true list of both the races of Spartan kings, but also a circumstantial account of their genealogy; and it is not a little surprising, that Sir Isaac, who had it in his power to use the more certain method of computation, has actually

* Brevia Chronica, p. 25. † Chronology of Olympiads, p. 151.

adopted the more vague and inaccurate. It will be seen, that, had he estimated by generations, his strictures on the Olympiads would have been deprived of nearly all their plausibility; and it has accordingly been suspected, that, great and candid as was his general character, he allowed himself in this instance to be drawn out of the right path, by a bias, imperceptible to himself, in favour of his own opinions. He remarks, in one place, with great exactness, that "generations from father to son may be reckoned, one with another, at about 33 or 34 years a-piece, or about three generations to a hundred years; but if the reckoning proceed by the eldest sons, they are shorter, so that three of them may be reckoned at about 75 or 80 years. And the reigns of kings are still shorter; because kings are succeeded not only by their eldest sons, but sometimes by their brothers; and sometimes they are slain or deposed, and succeeded by others of an equal or greater age, especially in elective or turbulent kingdoms."*

There is no doubt that the average of reigns has, by Sir Isaac, been taken much too low; for, upon examining into the circumstances of the Spartan history, as exhibited by Pausanias, during the period in question, there will appear reason to conclude, that the government of several of the kings exceeded in length the bounds of an ordinary generation. The first sovereigns on the list, for instance, ascended the throne in childhood, or in very early youth; and hence their reigns probably extended to fifty or sixty years. Charilaus, again, the seventh in succession from Procles, was proclaimed king as soon as he was born; whence we may conjecture that his administration was not confined within narrower limits than half a century. Anaxandrides, the

* Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms Amended, p. 53, 54, cited by Musgrave.

the father of Cleomenes, was so long in having children by his first wife, that, according to Pausanias and Herodotus, he was compelled by the Ephori to take another, for fear that the name of Eurysthenes should become extinct. Leonidas therefore was born when his parent was well advanced in life; and he himself did not ascend the throne till he was forty, or twelve years before the invasion of Xerxes.*

From these facts it has been inferred that the reigns of the Spartan kings, instead of being shorter than generations, were, in truth, somewhat longer; so that seventeen of the former might be reckoned equal to about nineteen of the latter. But nineteen generations, estimated at 33 years, amount to 627; and the interval from the return of the Heràclidæ to the battle of Thermopylæ was 623, being only four years less than the number which results from this computation.† Dr Musgrave, who confines his survey to the period between the Messenian war and the battle of Thermopylæ, suggests that, from a consideration of all the circumstances taken together, we might add an eighth generation to the seven, for which, he thinks, we have an incontestable warrant in history. This being done, if we divide 263, which is the olympic number of years for the term just stated, by 8, the hypothetical amount of generations, the quotient will be rather under 33; or half a year short of Sir Isaac's own allowance for a generation, which, as we have seen above, was from 33 to 34 years.‡

This result, as Dr Hales observes, corresponds very well with the time of the legislation of Lycurgus, which,

* Pausan. Lacon. p. 211. Herodot. lib. v. c. 39, 40.
† Hales, vol. i. p. 30.
‡ Musgrave, p. 166.

according to Eratosthenes and Plutarch, was exercised about the year B. C. 884. For from this period to the battle of Thermopylæ, B. C. 480, was an interval of 404 years; and from Charilaus, the nephew and ward of Lycurgus, to Leutychides, were eleven kings inclusive. Their reigns, for the reasons already explained, may be held equivalent to twelve generations: but 404 divided by 12, gives 33⅓ for the mean value of a generation, being very near the standard of three generations to a century.*

That Lycurgus was contemporary with Iphitus, and assisted him in the restoration of the Olympiads, has been rendered probable by the testimony of several ancient writers. In his life of the Spartan legislator, Plutarch remarks, that Aristotle was of this opinion; and that he adduced, in support of it, the Olympic discus, which had inscribed upon it the name of Lycurgus. Sir Isaac, taking for granted that this discus was one of those used by the athletes in their exercises, and learning from Pausanias that the pentathlos, or competition of five games, was not introduced before the eighteenth celebration of the Olympiads, he concluded that it must have been on this very occasion that Lycurgus was present; and, consequently, that his age has been placed by the chronologers 140 years too high. "By a strange confusion of chronology and history," says Jackson, "he would bring Lycurgus seventeen Olympiads lower than Coræbus, or to the year B. C. 708; at which time he supposes him to have given the discus upon the institution of the quinquertium." This hypothesis involves in it the downfal of all ancient history and chronology. But it has no foundation in fact. Pausanias does not say that the pentathlos, or combination of the

* Eratosthenes apud Clem. Alex. strom. i. p. 336. Plut. in vita Lycurgi.

discus, or quoit, with the four other games, was first practised or instituted in the eighteenth Olympiad. He merely observes, that, after Iphitus had revived the festival in the manner above related, the memory of many ancient customs was still lost, and that it was by slow degrees men came to the remembrance of them, and added to the games whatever they happened to recollect. This admits of no doubt; for, reckoning from the time when the celebration of the Olympiads went on without interruption, the first prize given was for the foot-race, which was won by Corœbus the Elean. Afterwards, in the fourteenth Olympiad, the *Diaulos* was added; and Hypenus of Pisa carried away the olive branch for the diaulos, as Acanthus did in the next Olympiad. Then, in the eighteenth Olympiad, they recollected the pentathlos and the wrestling.*

It is, therefore, evident that the pentathlos was no invention at the period described by Pausanias. In fact, his very words show most clearly that it had been practised long before the revival of the Olympic games by Iphitus, so long indeed as to have gone into disuse and oblivion. Hence it follows, not only that the discus and pentathlos might be old at the time at which Lycurgus is commonly placed; but, if Sir Isaac's inference be just, that the discus was given by Lycurgus at the first institution of the pentathlos, it will lead also to another very unexpected conclusion, namely, that this famous lawgiver must have lived several generations before even the first Olympiad.

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* Τοις ἀνθρωποις ἐτι ὑπηρχε των ἀρχαιων ληθη, και κατ' ὀλιγον ἐις, ὑπομνησιν ἠρχοντο ἀυτων. και ὁποτε τι ἀναμνησθειεν ἐποιουντο τῳ ἀγωνι προσθηκην. Δηλον δε. ἐξ ὁυ γαρ το συνεχες ταις μνημαις ἐπι ταις ὀλυμπιασιν ἐστι, δρομου μεν ἀθλα ἐτεθη πρωτον, και Ἡλειος Κοροιβος ἐνικα. ἐικων μεν δη ὀυκ ἐστι ἐν Ολυμπιᾳ του Κοροιβου, ταφος δε ἐπι τοις περασι της Ἡλειας. Ὀλυμπιαδι δε ὑστερων τεταρτῃ και δεκατῃ προσετεθη σφισι διαυλος.—*Pausan. Eliac.* lib. v. c. 8. p. 394.

But the truth is, as Jackson observes, the discus which Aristotle mentioned as having inscribed upon it the name of Lycurgus, did not belong to any particular game practised at Olympia; but was merely the tablet on which was recorded the truce called ἐκεχειρία, between the Eleans and Peloponnesians. In virtue of this treaty there was to be a perpetual armistice during the celebration of the games; which arrangement having been effected through the good offices of Iphitus and Lycurgus, their names were inserted on the discus or piece of metal, which served the purpose of a record, and which, in order to preserve the memory of so important a public deed, was afterwards deposited in the Olympic temple.*

The general current of ancient testimony is very strong in favour of the conclusion, that the return of the Heraclidæ took place about the year B. C. 1103. But Sir Isaac Newton, to support his hypothesis, brings forward the authority of Thucydides, who, according to the Latin translation adopted by Stephens, is made to say that the Lacedemonians had, from ancient times, used good laws, and that, from the period when they began to enjoy so excellent a constitution, to the end of the Peloponnesian war, there intervened somewhat more than three hundred years. It is astonishing that Newton could overlook the singular fact, that his quotation, from the learned son of Olorus, possessed no other weight than what it derived from a false translation. In the Greek of the very copy which he must have consulted, the reading is not three hundred, but four hundred. Ἡ γαρ Λακεδαιμων μετα την

* Pausan. Eliac. p. 392, 421. Newton's Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms, p. 57, 58. Jackson, vol. iii. p. 345; and Musgrave's Chronology of the Olympiads, p. 210, 211.

κτησιν των νυν ενοικουντων αυτην Δωριεων, επι πλειστον ων ισμεν χρονον στασιασα, ομως εκ παλαιοτατου και ευνομηθη, και αει αστυφαννευτος ην. ετη γαρ εστι μαλιστα τετρακοσια και ολιγω πλειω εις την τελευτην τουδε του πολεμου, αφ' ου Λακεδαιμονιοι τη αυτη πολιτια χρωνται. .. Nam Lacedemon post urbam conditam a Doriensibus, qui eam nunc incolunt, seditionibus conflictata diutissime quas novimus, tamen ab antiquissimis usque temporibus, et bonis legibus est usa, et tyrannidis immunis semper fuit: Sunt enim anni ferme quadringenti anni et paulo plures usque ad hujus belli finem, ex quo Lacedemonii eadem reipublicæ administrandæ forma utuntur.*

The argument which Sir Isaac uses to determine the return of the Heraclidæ, from the time of Cypselus, king of Corinth, is at once unsatisfactory and inconsistent with itself. At first, page 62, he counts six generations from Melas, who lived at the time of their return, to Cypselus, whose reign began B. C. 655: whence, reckoning these generations at 30 years a-piece, he dates the return of the Heraclidæ 180+B. C. 655 = B. C. 835. But afterwards, page 139, from Aletes king of Corinth, who reigned at their return, he enumerates eight of his lineal successors, and after them a succession of Prytanes, or annual Archons, comprehending about 42 years, until Cypselus began his government. Is it not manifest that so many reigns and magistracies must have exceeded the length of six generations?

To establish his opinion, that the return of the Heraclidæ and the age of Lycurgus are placed too high, Sir Isaac Newton farther states, on the authority of Hellanicus, Sosimus, and Hieronymus, that the Spartan legislator was contemporary with Terpander the musician. But of

* Thucyd. lib. i. p. 13. Edit. Æmil. Porti 1594. Steph. et Aldus 1502, et Duker 1731.

these three writers, only one, Hieronymus, asserts the fact which their evidence is adduced to confirm. The Arundel Marbles give reason to believe that Terpander flourished about the year B. C. 645; while other records determine his age to the twenty-sixth Olympiad, or twenty-two years earlier than the time just mentioned. It is not improbable that Hieronymus mistook a later Lycurgus for the renowned lawgiver of Lacedemon; but whether he was chargeable with this inaccuracy or not, the weight of his authority must not be put in the balance against the concurrent testimony of all other historians, and the most learned of the ancient chronologers.*

The last argument used by Sir Isaac Newton against the system of dates which is commonly received by the student of Grecian antiquities, is taken from the list of the Macedonian kings; and unquestionably, the manner in which he has stated his position on this head, gives no small degree of plausibility and strength to the conclusion which he has founded upon it. The interval of time which these monarchs are supposed to occupy terminates in two epochs, the one undisputed and certain, the expedition of the Persians under Xerxes; the other much less surely ascertained, namely, the reign of Phidon, king of Argos, who invaded Elis. Of the latter invasion, Pausanias, who writes here without any marks of doubt or hesitation, fixes the date in the eighth Olympiad; whereas the Arundel Marble, if it must be understood of the same Phidon, carries him a full hundred years higher. The second branch of the alternative being most favourable to Sir Isaac's hypothesis, he reasons upon it with considerable effect, without taking the smallest notice of the

* Chronological Antiquities, vol. iii. p. 347.

other. In a matter of such high antiquity, where most of the authors who might have assisted us are lost, we should perhaps show as much regard to truth by merely following the authority of Pausanias, even if it were single and unsupported, as the great mathematician has manifested in attaching himself exclusively to the Parian record. But the evidence of Pausanias is neither single nor unsupported: it is confirmed by that of the learned and accurate Strabo. This distinguished writer, who was certainly well acquainted with the old Greek historians, makes Phidon the tenth from Temenus,—a result which coincides exactly with the narrative and computation of Pausanias. Phidon, therefore, being supposed to reign in the eighth Olympiad, the interval between the end of that quadrennial cycle and the beginning of the seventy-fifth is precisely two hundred and sixty-four years.

But, says Musgrave, "the number of Macedonian kings who are to fill up that interval is a still more disputable point. Herodotus makes Alexander the contemporary of Xerxes, the seventh king from the beginning of the monarchy; and with this computation, Thucydides in effect agrees. In the list given by Herodotus, the first place is assigned to Perdiccas; which I apprehend is no farther true than that Perdiccas was the first who reigned under the title of king; which is precisely what Solinus asserts. But if we may believe other ancient authors, Perdiccas was by no means the person, or contemporary with the person, who, under the reign of Phidon, quitted Argos and removed into Macedonia. This individual, by every other author but Herodotus, is called Caranus, whom we learn from Syncellus to have been the brother of Phidon. He is mentioned also by Plutarch, Pausanias, and Diodorus Siculus; by Satyrus, an ancient author quoted by Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, and among the

Latins by Livy, Paterculus, Justin, and Solinus.* There is, upon the whole, then, indisputable evidence, that Caranus was the person who removed from Argos and laid the first foundation of the Macedonian kingdom. There is also good authority for supposing that Perdiccas, who completed the work of Caranus, and first assumed the title of king, was not the brother, as Sir Isaac, from the ambiguous authority of Herodotus, is pleased to conclude, but the great-grandson of Caranus. The list and order of the generations will therefore stand thus, precisely as in Syncellus:—

1. Caranus.
2. Cœnus.
3. Tyrimmas.
4. Perdiccas.
5. Argæus.
6. Philippus.
7. Acropus.
8. Alcetas.
9. Amytas.
10. Alexander.

Ten kings make nine generations, as it is always necessary to strike off either the first or the last of the series. Divide, then, 264, the number of years between Phidon and the expedition of Xerxes, by 9, the number of generations, and the quotient will be exactly $29\frac{1}{3}$; that is, the portion of time for each generation will be exactly twenty-nine years and four months, which is considerably less than Sir Isaac himself allows. It has been already shewn at large, that if we calculate at all by lives, it must be by generations and not by reigns; the number of successions furnishing no ground whatever for rational argument.†

* Herod. lib. viii. c. 139. Thucyd. lib. ii. c. 100. Syncel. Chronog. p. 158. Plutarch. in vit. Alexandri. Pausan. Bœot. lib. ix. 40, 41. Theophil. ad Autolyc. lib. ii. Patercul. lib. i. Justin. lib. vii. Solin. c. ix. Syncell. Chronograph. p. 209.

† Musgrave. Chronology of Olympiads, p. 214—221.

In conducting this argument respecting the Macedonian kings, I have passed on with a simple reference to the time of Phidon, the Argive tyrant. But the proper determination of the era of that prince himself is of so much importance in a chronological point of view, that Sir Isaac Newton has attempted to connect with it a most serious attack on the truth and credibility of the Olympic registers at large. Pausanias relates, that, in the eighth Olympiad, the monarch just named entered Elis, expelled the chiefs who usually presided at the games, and assumed, in his own person, the direction of the solemnity. The eighth Olympiad, I need hardly add, was held in the year B. C. 744. But in the Parian Chronicle, inserted in the 393d page of this volume, the following notice occurs:—"Since Phidon the Argive was proscribed, and made measures and weights, and coined silver money in Ægina, being the eleventh from Hercules, DCXXXI years: Megacles reigning at Athens." Now, if to 631 we add 264, the year before Christ at which the Chronicle ends, the proscription of Phidon must be placed 895 years before the same era: and thus it will appear that the difference between Pausanias and the Marble is not less than a century and a half. Nor does the difficulty terminate here; for Herodotus in his sixth book enumerates, among the noble youths who solicited the daughter of Clisthenes in marriage, Leocedes, the son of Phidon. Clisthenes, it is well known, flourished at the period of the forty-seventh Olympiad, or in the year B. C. 588; being 156 years later than the time of Phidon as fixed by Pausanias, and 307 years later than the era of the same king as determined by the Parian Chronicle. It is clear, therefore, that, if these numbers be correct, the son of Phidon could not belong to the same generation which beheld the daughter of Clisthenes; and hence it is inferred, by Sir Isaac Newton, that

the Olympic record is inaccurate, and that it has even been vitiated by a long interpolation of imaginary festivals.

As the decision of this point depends entirely upon the proper understanding of the words of Herodotus, it may be convenient for the reader to have them under his eye: Ἀπὸ δὲ Πελοπογνήσου Φείδωνος τοῦ Ἀργείων τυράννου παῖς Λεωκήδης, Φείδωνος δὲ τοῦ τὰ μέτρα ποιησαμένου Πελοποννησίοισι, καὶ ὑβρίσαντος μεγίστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων ἁπάντων· ὃς ἐξανιστήσας τοὺς Ἠλείων ἀγωνοθέτας αὐτὸς τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἄγωνα ἔθηκε."* Dr Musgrave has suggested a correction of this passage, which is unquestionably entitled to the consideration of the classical reader. He remarks, that two Manuscripts omit the important word παῖς, which leaves room for supposing that Leocedes might be only the descendant of Phidon. But for my own part, he adds, "I am inclined to believe that the word παῖς is genuine, and no interpolation; though I think that the passage is evidently corrupted. The adversative particle δὲ comes in very awkwardly and improperly in the second part of the sentence, supposing the author to speak of the same Phidon in both places; and, if we strike it out, the repetition of the word Φείδωνος has a poetical air, very unsuitable to history. I would therefore read Φείδωνος τοῦ Ἀργείων τυράννου παῖς Λεωκήδης, Φείδωνος δὲ ΟΥ τοῦ τὰ μέτρα ποιησαμένου: 'Leocedes, the son of Phidon, king of Argos; but *not* of that Phidon who established the Peloponnesian measures.' Upon the whole, it seems highly probable that the Leocedes of Herodotus was son to the king of Argos, whatever the name of his father was. I suppose it to have been Phidon, who being an obscure person compared with his ancestor, the invader of Elis, it became necessary for the historian to caution his readers against confounding the one with the other. If

* Herodot. lib. vi. c. 127.

the conjecture here proposed, to which I see no material objection, be admitted, it entirely removes the chronological difficulty insisted upon by Sir Isaac Newton.*

But the time of Phidon is fixed with the utmost certainty by a circumstance which is mentioned both by Pausanias and by Strabo; namely, that the Eleans made no entry of the Olympiad at which Phidon presided, after he had driven away the ordinary judges. The former of these writers, as every one knows, examined in person the record at Olympia; and as it is impossible to imagine that he could be deceived respecting the particular Olympiad at which Phidon, the king of the Argives, obtruded himself, there cannot any longer be the smallest doubt that it was the eighth, held in the year B. C. 744, at which the said occurrence took place, and, consequently, that Phidon, the father of Leocedes, must have been quite a different person.†

It will be found, I think, that in proportion to the minuteness with which we examine the chronology of Newton, the supposed facts on which it is built, and the reasoning by which it is recommended to the reception of the learned, the more numerous will the objections appear which might be urged against its principles, and the more satisfactory the arguments which are used in support of the common system. The date of the war of Troy, of the Argonautic expedition, and that of the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus, have been determined by an appeal to the testimony of the best authors who have written on ancient Greece: and although it is impossible to read the chronological tracts of our great philosopher, without admiring the industry and talent which he

* Musgrave on the Chronology of the Olympiads, p. 189. "The correction of Herodotus, proposed above, is countenanced by a similar passage in Pausanias, Arcad. p. 631. Δηλα δὲ ἐστι Χαλκωδοντα, ὃν τὴν ἐξ Εὐβοίας, καὶ Τιλάμωνα, ὃν τοῦ Αἰγινήτην ἐπι Ἠλιους Ἡρακλεῖ μετισχηκεναι της στρατιας.

† Pausan. Eliac. lib. vi. c. 22. Strabo, lib. viii. p. 549.

employed, in his endeavours to determine the age and succession of those events which constitute the history of the primæval kingdoms of Europe and Asia, we cannot, nevertheless, accompany him more than a single step in his deductions, without perceiving that, contrary to the usual tenour of his enlightened mind, he puts greater trust in the power of reason than in the evidence of facts established upon the testimony of the most credible authors. In truth, it would almost appear that Newton was doomed to write his Chronology, in order to exhibit a practical illustration of the weakness of human nature, as well as of the very important philosophical law as referable to the mind of man, that the same intellectual gifts and methods cannot be applied with equal success to every branch of science and of literary investigation. I have already remarked, that Sir Isaac was occasionally drawn into error by an undue reliance upon the peculiar mode of research which had conducted him to his immortal discoveries in the physical world; and the following observations, made by an able astronomer, on the attempt of Newton to lower the date of the Trojan war, by proving that the poet of the Works and Days did not flourish until about a hundred years after the death of Solomon, tend in no small degree to confirm my opinion.

"Hesiod," says the celebrated philosopher, "tells us, that sixty days after the winter solstice, the star Arcturus rose just at sunset; and thence it follows that Hesiod flourished about a hundred years after the death of Solomon, or in the *generation* or *age* next after the Trojan war, as he himself declares." The passage to which Sir Isaac alludes is this:—

Ἐυτ' ἀν δ' ἑξακοντα μετα τροπας ἠελιοιο
Χειμερ' ἐκτελεσῃ Ζευς ἡματα, δη ρα ποτ' ἀστηρ

Αρκτουρος προλιπων ἱερον ῥοον ὠκεανοιο
Πρωτος παμφαινων ἐπιτελλεται ἀκρονυφαιος.*

It does not appear from these verses at what time or at what place the observation was originally made; whether at Ascra, the poet's residence in Bœotia, or in a higher or lower latitude; whether in his own age or from more ancient calendars; or whether the true or apparent rising is meant: all which circumstances materially affect the elements as well as the result of the calculation. Let us, however, suppose that Hesiod speaks of the apparent achronical rising of the constellation at his own country and in his own age. In the latitude of Ascra, about 38 degrees 30 minutes, north latitude, and in the year assigned by Newton, B. C. 870, which was bissextile, the apparent achronical rising of Arcturus happened at the beginning of the 18th of February, when the sun was in the 21st degree of Aquarius, and depressed 12 degrees below the horizon; that is, fifty entire days from the winter solstice that year, including the extremes. But this falls short of the poet's observation of sixty days, which is repeated and verified both by Eudoxus and Democritus, and therefore is not liable to the suspicion of error in the text.

Let us next take the year assigned to Hesiod by the Parian Chronicle, B.C. 944, or, for the sake of calculation, B. C. 942, which was bissextile; and instead of Arcturus, take the star which rises last in the constellation Bootes, one of the third magnitude, and which, therefore, is visible at the horizon when the sun is depressed 14 de-

* When Jove shall have completed sixty days
After the winter solstice, then the star
Arcturus leaves the ocean's sacred flood,
And first, all-bright, achronically rises.
Hesiod. Opera et Dies, v. 564—566.

grees below it. This star, then, rose achronically in the beginning of the 27th of February, or the *sixtieth* day after the day of the winter solstice, including the extremes,—a usual mode of computation, of which we find many instances in sacred and profane authors.*

By this calculation the Parian date of Hesiod's age is most satisfactorily confirmed, while the conjecture of Newton is proved, even on his own principles, to be utterly without foundation. In the year B. C. 870, Arcturus rose only fifty days after the winter solstice; whereas, in the year B. C. 942, the period assigned by the Marble for the era of the poet, that star did actually rise sixty days after the sun had reached his highest declination, agreeably to the statement already quoted from his works.

But there may still appear to be some ground for doubt respecting the true meaning of Hesiod, in the passage where he informs us that he lived in the next age after the wars of Thebes and Troy; and the ambiguity here alluded to arises from the different import of the word *age*, as it happens to be translated from γενος or from γενεα. When it is a version of the latter, it usually signifies a *generation*, of which three are comprehended in a single century; when it represents the former term, it denotes one of those great divisions of time by which the ancient poets were pleased to measure and characterize the existence of our globe as the habitation of man,—the golden, the silver, the brazen, the heroic, and the iron ages. When we call to mind that Hesiod lived about 240 years after the fall of Troy, we can have no doubt as to the sense in which he used the word γενος; which, it is worthy of notice, he everywhere applies not to a generation properly so called,

* This ingenious piece of reasoning is the work of a learned astronomer, Dr Joseph Atwell, and is inserted in the able dissertation prefixed to Robinson's edition of Hesiod. Oxford 1737. Quoted by Hales, vol. i. p. 36.

or the space of thirty-three years, but to those longer periods which were distinguished by a change of condition in the enjoyments and character of the human race. It is manifest, therefore, it was only because Sir Isaac Newton confounded the word γενος, signifying a race or peculiar class of men who differed from others in their physical or moral qualities, with the term γενεα, a generation or the men of a single age, that he allowed himself to conclude, from the language of Hesiod respecting the time in which he lived, that the poet must have flourished within thirty or thirty-five years after the taking of Troy.*

The reader will not regret the time which has been spent in pointing out the errors of Newton's Grecian Chronology; when he recollects that it is the most ingenious and elaborate part of his work on the science of time; and more particularly that, from the authority of his great name, it continues to be held in considerable estimation by certain historians and antiquaries. It was adopted by the authors of the Ancient Universal History as the basis of all their calculations in regard to the succession of events: it was followed by the ingenious Howard in his Thoughts on the Structure of the Globe published in 1797; and at a still later period, it has been preferred by Mitford, the sedulous and candid historian of Greece. It is true, at the same time, that it has been refuted and exposed by some of the most learned of the chronographers who adorned the last century, both in France and in England; by Whiston, Bedford, Shuckford, Jackson, Atwell, Costard, Musgrave, Squire, Robinson, Freret, Larcher, Banier, Anquetil du

* Newton's Chronology, p. 31 and 160. Hales, vol. i. p. 35—37. It is remarkable that Hesiod bewails his destiny in having been doomed to exist in the fifth or iron age:

Μηκετ' ἐπειτ' ὤφελλον ἐγω πεμπτοισι μετειναι
Ανδρασιν, ἀλλ' ἢ πρόσθε θανειν, ἢ ἐπειτα γενεσθαι.
Νυν γαρ δη γενος ἐστι σιδηρεον.—*Opera et Dies*, v. 170—200.

Perron, Playfair, and Dr Hales. I have elsewhere noticed, that, eight years before the publication of the "Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms Amended," Mr Jameson, the professor of History at Glasgow, put forth a volume entitled "Spicilegia Antiquitatum Ægypti atque ei vicinarum Gentium," in which he referred to the same facts, and used nearly the same arguments as those afterwards employed by Newton, in order to establish the recent origin of the Assyrian empire. As there is not the smallest reason to believe that the latter author ever saw the work of the former, we ought perhaps to consider the conclusions at which they both arrived, on the particular point to which their inquiries were directed in common, as only the more entitled to a careful and modest examination.

As a matter of mere curiosity, I lay before the reader a tabular view of the opinions of the most distinguished authors who have written on Grecian antiquities, in regard to the date when the Trojan war is supposed to have been completed by the destruction of the city.

	B. C.
Dodwell, Whiston, Freret, Bouhier, Larcher, and the compiler of the Life of Homer, have placed that event in the year -	1270
Dicæarchus, who lived 310 years before our era,	1212
The Parian Chronicle, composed 264 years before Christ, - -	1209*
Apollodorus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Usher, Simpson, Sevin, and Playfair, -	1184
Eratosthenes, Diodorus Siculus, Eusebius, Hales, and Jackson, - -	1183

* The Parian Chronicle, when corrected according to the principle already explained, fixes the date of the destruction of Troy in the year B. C. 1184; that is, 1209—25=1184, or 1183 complete.

	B. C.
Sosibius,	1171
Newton,	904

Holding it, therefore, as a fixed point in chronology, that the Argonautic expedition took place in the year B.C. 1225, and that it was followed by the destruction of Troy at the distance of 42 years, we may with confidence determine the Dorian invasion of Peloponnesus under the descendants of Hercules to the year B. C. 1103; being eighty years after the latter event, and one hundred and twenty-two after the former. It now only remains, that I should mention such leading facts in the sacred and Assyrian history as coincide, in respect of time, with the annals of Greece, during the period which has just been illustrated.

The above epoch, at which we suppose the Argonautic expedition to have sailed from Iolcos, synchronizes with the last year but one of the Ammonitish servitude, from which the children of Israel were delivered by the ministry of Jephthah. If the scheme of chronology which I have adopted be well founded, this Gileadite was called from the land of Tob, to assume the command of the kindred tribes who had taken the field against their oppressors, in the year 1223 before the advent of our Saviour. The interval which elapsed between the enterprise of Jason and the Trojan war was filled up, among the Hebrews, by the administrations of Jephthah, Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon, and by a part of the sixth servitude, under the Philistines. That period was extremely barren of events, and presents no feature of historical or literary interest to reward the investigation of the most sedulous antiquary. The government of Samuel, which began in the year B. C. 1112, and continued till the first year of the eleventh century before the same era, comprehends, of

course, the epoch of the Dorian invasion of the southern parts of Greece.

During the long interval between the conquest of Canaan by Joshua, and the accession of the first Hebrew king in the person of Saul, the throne of Assyria was occupied by the following sovereigns:—

	B. C.
Ascatades,	1575
Amyntes,	1535
Belochus,	1485
Beletores or Beletaras,	1460
Lamprides,	1426
Sosares,	1389
Lampares,	1369
Panyas,	1339
Sosarmus,	1294
Mithræus,	1252
Teutamus,	1215
Teutæus,	1183
Thineus,	1139
Dercylus,	1109

It will be observed that I have here rejected the amended chronology of Jackson, which, for very satisfactory reasons, was in like manner rejected by the learned and judicious Dr Hales. Indeed, the more attentively I consider the alterations which the author of the Chronological Antiquities has made, in connection with the grounds upon which he has attempted to establish them, the more do my doubts increase in regard to the authority which he adduces for his departure from the record of Ctesias, as well as in respect to the consis-

tency of the conclusions to which his reasoning has finally conducted him.

According to the physician of Artaxerxes, it was in the reign of Teutamus that Troy was taken; and, in confirmation of his statement, he relates that the sovereign now named sent Memnon with a body of troops to assist Priam against the combined armies of Greece.

Some account has already been given of the interposition of the Assyrian power in behalf of this Trojan prince, as well as of the leader who is said to have conducted the auxiliaries to the coast of the Egean. Diodorus Siculus, proceeding apparently on the authority of Ctesias, relates that Teutamus sent Memnon, the son of Tithonus, who was at that time prefect of Persia, with twenty thousand infantry and two hundred armed chariots. The historian adds, that the king of Troy, being a vassal of the Assyrian empire, sent messengers to solicit this aid from Teutamus: *και τον μεν Πριαμον βαρυνομενον τω πολεμω και βασιλευοντα της Τροαδος υπηκοον δ' ονται τω βασιλει των Ασσυριων, πεμψαι προς αυτον πρεσβευτας περι βοηθειας, τον δε Τευταμον μυριους μεν Αιθιοπας, αλλους δε τοσουτους Σουσιανους συν αρμασι διακοσιοις εξαποστειλαι, στρατηγον καταστησαντα Μεμνονα τον Τιθωνου. και τον μεν Τιθωνον κατ' εκεινους τους χρονους ονται στρατηγον της Περσιδος ευδοκιμειν παρα τω βασιλει μαλιστα των καθεσταμενων επαρχων.**

This part of the narrative of Diodorus receives considerable illustration from the old Latin Chronicle, quoted

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* Diod. Sicul. lib. ii. c. 22. "As it is uncertain in what year Ctesias, or the authors of the story, placed the taking of Troy, we cannot be certain in what year of the reign of Teutamus they placed it. If they thought Troy was taken in the year before Christ 1206, where the Parian Marbles place the taking of it, and if Teutamus sent the army in the last year of the war, it was in the seventh year of his reign: but if they placed it in the year before Christ 1183, which is the truest era of it, then it was in the last year of his reign: and here the old Latin Chronicle from Africanus or from Castor, placed the taking of Troy, namely, in the 32d year of his reign."—*Chronological Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 250.

by Scaliger, and which seems to have been compiled from the works of Africanus, Eusebius, and Castor. It is there stated that Troy was taken by the Greeks in the thirty-second year of the reign of Teutamus, which, according to the chronology of Ctesias, coincides exactly with the year B. C. 1183,—an agreement which cannot but appear very remarkable, and as affording a strong testimony in confirmation of the system of dates which has been transmitted to us by the Rhodian annalist.

But I recur to this subject at present, not so much with the view of throwing any light on the obscure history of Memnon, the son of Tithonus, as to corroborate some of the opinions which have been advanced, in an earlier portion of this volume, in regard to the supreme authority exercised at a very remote period by a great empire eastward of the Euphrates.* Writers on this subject appear not to have adverted with sufficient attention to the important passage in Herodotus, mentioned in a former paragraph, wherein he relates that the Persians regarded Asia and all its barbarous nations as belonging to the same family with themselves, and placed under their special protection.† It is worthy of notice, that the ascendency which by Herodotus is ascribed to the Persians, is by Diodorus Siculus attributed to the Assyrians; and hence the auxiliaries sent by Teutamus to oppose the Greeks under the walls of Troy, are spoken of in the works of different authors as belonging to the one nation or to the other indiscriminately. The latter of the two historians now named represents the troops of Memnon as

* For an account of Memnon, including all that the records of history and of fiction combined have preserved respecting his origin, his character, and his exploits, I refer to the laborious and able work of Faber on Pagan Idolatry, vol. ii. p. 449—481.

† Την γαρ Ασιην και τα ἐνοικεοντα ἔθνεα βαρβαρα διαιτευνται οἱ Περσαι.

consisting of ten thousand Ethiopians or Arabs, and of as many soldiers from the province of Susiana, one of the districts of Persia Proper. But, to account for this fact, he adds, that Tithonus, the father of the youthful commander, was prefect of Persia; or, in other words, governed that part of the Assyrian empire as the lieutenant of Teutamus, the sovereign paramount of western Asia.

These facts, taken in connection with the obvious meaning of the historians who have recorded them, prove beyond all reasonable doubt that the Assyrian empire was in possession of a most extensive power and jurisdiction long before the siege of Troy. They remove at the same time every semblance of an argument for the abbreviated system of Marsham, Newton, and Jameson, who, as has been already repeatedly mentioned, deny that such a monarchy existed in western Asia until about seven centuries before the era of Christianity. That it existed at least long before the time of Priam, is rendered almost certain by the language which Herodotus employs in regard to the forbearance of the Persians; who, while they blamed the vindictive spirit of the Greeks in attacking the Trojan state for the abduction of a woman, take credit to themselves for having overlooked many offences of the same kind inflicted upon their country by foreign traders. He then specifies a particular case, which happened many centuries before the rape of Helen, as one of those which the Persians might have resented; plainly intimating thereby that, at the period in question, the great Asiatic empire extended to the shores of the Mediterranean, and comprehended as vassals all the small states scattered along the maritime provinces of Syria.*

* Herodot. lib. i. c. 4, 5.

Having mentioned the kings of Assyria, the time of whose government synchronizes with the era of the judges, I shall, in like manner, give a list of such of the Sicyonian, Argive, and Athenian monarchs as ruled within the period usually allotted to the Hebrew commonwealth. To render the outline more intelligible, it may be convenient to arrange, in separate columns, the names of the judges, opposite to those of the several Grecian sovereigns in whose days they exercised their authority.

Hebrew Judges.		*Kings of Sicyon.*	
B. C.			B. C.
1568	Joshua and Elders.	Echireus -	1591
1533	Othniel.	Corax - -	1536
		Epopeus -	1506
1475	Ehud and Shamgar.	Lamedon -	1471
		Sicyon -	1431
1375	Deborah and Barak.	Polybus -	1386
1328	Gideon.	Inachus -	1346
		Phæstus -	1304
1288	Abimelech.	Adrastus -	1296
1285	Tola.	Polyphides -	1292
1263	Jair.	Pelasgus -	1261
		Zeuxippus -	1241
1223	Jephthah.		
1217	Ibzan.	Hippolytus and priests	
1210	Elon.	of Apollo Carneus	1209
1200	Abdon.		
1172	Samson and Eli.		
1152	Eli alone.		
1112	Samuel.		
		Invasion of Phalces, and union with Argos -	1102

Hebrew Judges.		*Kings of Argos.*	
B. C.			B. C.
1568	Joshua and Elders.	Phorbas	1560
1533	Othniel.	Triopas	1535
1475	Ehud and Shamgar.	Crotopus	1499
		Sthenelus	1478
		Danaus	1467
		Linceus	1417
1375	Deborah and Barak.	Abas	1382
		Prætus	1359
1328	Gideon.	Acrisius	1342
		Perseus*	1313
1288	Abimelech.	Sthenelus	1270
1285	Tola.	Eurystheus	1260
1263	Jair.	Atreus	1225
1223	Jephthah.	Thyestes.†	
1217	Ibzan.		
1210	Elon.		
1200	Abdon.	Agamemnon	1198
1172	Samson and Eli.	Ægisthus	1185
1152	Eli alone.	Orestes	1176
1112	Samuel.	Tisamenes	1110
		Return of Heraclidæ	1103

Hebrew Judges.		*Kings of Athens.*	
B. C.			B. C.
1568	Joshua and Elders.	Cecrops	1558
1533	Othniel.	Cranaus	1508
1475	Ehud and Shamgar.	Amphictyon	1499

* The seat of government in the time of Perseus was transferred to Mycenæ.
† See Homer. Iliad, book ii. verse 103.

B. C.		B. C.
	Erichthonius -	1489
	Pandion - -	1439
1375 Deborah and Barak.	Erichtheus - -	1399
1328 Gideon.	Cecrops II. -	1349
	Pandion II. -	1309
1288 Abimelech.	Egeus - -	1284
1285 Tola.	Theseus -	1236
1263 Jair.		
1223 Jephthah.		
1217 Ibzan.		
1210 Elon.	Menestheus -	1206
1200 Abdon.		
1172 Samson and Eli.	Demophon -	1183
1152 Eli alone.	Oxyntes -	1150
	Aphidas -	1138
	Thymætes -	1137
1112 Samuel.	Melanthius -	1129
	Codrus -	1092

It cannot have escaped the reader, that the Parian Chronicle places the arrival of Danaus at Argos in the year B. C. 1486, being nineteen years higher than the date which is given in the above table; but this difference will be easily accounted for, if we recollect that the Egyptian chief did not enter Greece as a king, and, consequently, that it is very probable he spent a good many years there as a private individual, before his services entitled him to the sovereign power. Dr Playfair has made an attempt to remove this apparent difficulty in another way, which does not seem so satisfactory. "The family of Inachus," says he, "after having kept possession of the throne 347 years, were expelled by Danaus, who arrived, B. C. 1509, with a colony from Canaan." The date of his

arrival in Greece, he adds, "may be ascertained in the following manner: Inachus settled at Argos B. C. 1586. Apis, who is said to have reigned thirty-five years, was never king of Argos (Æschyl. in Supplic. v. 264. Pausan. in Corinthiacis.) If, then, we deduct 35 from 382, the number of years reckoned by Castor from the first year of Inachus to the death of Sthenelus, 347 will remain as the sum of this period, which must have ended B. C. 1509."*

There are two objections to this conclusion, which must prove an insuperable bar to its reception among the learned. In the first place, the authority on which Dr Playfair has rejected Apis from the list of Argive kings is far from being decisive. The greater number of historians and chronologers have determined in favour of the catalogue supplied by Castor, and believe that Apis did indeed receive the sceptre from Phoroneus. But, in the second place, were the point at issue conceded according to the views of the Scottish professor, and the doubtful reign of thirty-five years expunged, we should thereby introduce into the chronology of the Argive kings a degree of confusion which no ingenuity could remove. Danaus must be raised to the throne more than twenty years before it was rendered vacant by the death or deposition of Sthenelus. For these reasons I give a decided preference to the older and more common system of dates which has been applied to regulate the succession of the ancient kings of Argos.

If we examine minutely into the habits and manners of the Greeks prior to the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnesus, with a reference to those of the Hebrews at the same period, we shall observe between them such a degree

* System of Chronology, p. 90.

of rude similarity as will indicate that their political institutions were not of very long standing, nor by any means to be compared, in point of antiquity, with the government, the forms of society, the laws and civil regulations of the Egyptians and Assyrians. Till the era of the Argonautic expedition, no bond of union or federal obligation appears to have been established among those numerous states which occupied the fine country on either side of the Isthmus. Jealous of each other, and prone to seize on every occasion which could afford a pretext for war, they continued during several ages equally ignorant of the advantages of social life and of the means of mutual defence; and, accordingly, though they passed their days with arms in their hands, and were strangers to the arts as well as to the enjoyments of peace, they nevertheless proved an easy conquest to every adventurer from a foreign country, whom accident or ambition directed to their shores. Theseus, indeed, is celebrated not less for his patriotism than for the wisdom of his administration. He at once confirmed the principles of liberty which the Athenians had infused into their constitution, and laid the foundations of greater strength and security, against the restless spirit which prevailed among the neighbouring tribes. But it was not until the return of the Heraclidæ had placed all the southern division of Greece under the sway of one race of princes, that a just national policy either in peace or in war began to be understood.

It is no doubt true that, at a still earlier period, civilization had made considerable progress in the island of Crete; where, under the direction of several wise monarchs, the arts of Egypt were introduced, and the principles of law and religion were fully established. Plato takes delight in pointing to that island as the source of Grecian legislation, and as affording a striking example of the

good effects of those learned institutions which bind the human spirit to a sense of duty towards earth as well as towards Heaven. The elder Minos was, indeed, called the son of the Ocean, and was supposed to hold intercourse with the immortal gods, by whom he was instructed in the mysteries of their genealogy and the rites by means of which it pleased them to be worshipped. But when we draw aside the vail of fable, we have no difficulty in discovering the real source of that superior knowledge which excited the wonder of the ignorant Greeks. The vicinity of Crete to the shores of Egypt, opened up a communication between the mariners, the traders, and princes of the former country, and the priests or sages of the latter; who, at the distance of many centuries before Athens was built or Argos had received inhabitants, spread over the kingdom of the Pharaohs the lights of science and the benefits of a regular policy. In this way it came to pass that the island of Minos, which has been ignorantly celebrated for having given birth to various orders of divinities, did, in fact, extend to Greece the more valuable gift of civil institutions and social improvement.*

The political condition of the Hebrews during the time of the Judges bore a close resemblance to that of the smaller Greek states before the Trojan war. The Israelites, indeed, acknowledged the obligations of a close relationship in kindred and extraction, as well as the divine origin of their federal government, which rendered all the tribes amenable to the same paramount authority, and placed the means of public defence in the hands of their national council; but if we confine our survey to the actual practice of their constitution, we shall perhaps discover that

* Plato de Legibus, et in Minoe. Aristol. Politic. lib. ii. Plut. in Lycurg.

every family or clan pursued its own interests without any reference to the general will, and had, in return, to sustain alone the attacks of its enemies. It was not until the increase of population at home, and a similar extension of the materials of war and conquest abroad, had suggested to the Israelites the necessity of union and co-operation, that the chiefs yielded so far to the wishes of their dependants, as to give their consent to the appointment of a monarch who might command the whole power of the confederated tribes, and lead them forth either to protect their ancient borders or to make new acquisitions of territory. The accession of Saul to the sovereignty of the Hebrews corresponds very nearly, in point of time, to those changes in the Grecian republics and small patriarchal kingdoms, which soon afterwards enabled them to concentrate their strength and combine their movements; and thereby to prove themselves equal not only to repel the threats of foreign invasion, but even to carry their victorious arms into the very centre of Asia. These considerations, however, belong more properly to a subsequent part of this work; wherein the circumstances which determined the progress of society not only among the descendants of Israel, but also among the surrounding nations, will be minutely pointed out and illustrated.

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